

THE MAKING OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE OXFORD MANUALS

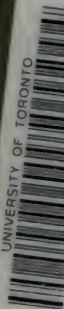


OF ENGLISH HISTORY

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No VI

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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The Oxford Manuals of English History

Edited by C. W. C. OMAN, M.A., F.S.A.

No. VI.

THE MAKING OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

(A.D. 1714—1832)

BY

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LONDON

BLACKIE & SON, LIMITED, 50 OLD BAILEY, E.C.

GLASGOW AND DUBLIN

1896

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GENERAL PREFACE.

There are so many School Histories of England already in existence, that it may perhaps seem presumptuous on the part of the authors of this series to add six volumes more to the number. But they have their defence: the "Oxford Manuals of English History" are intended to serve a particular purpose. There are several good general histories already in use, and there are a considerable number of scattered 'epochs' or 'periods'. But there seems still to be room for a set of books which shall combine the virtues of both these classes. Schools often wish to take up only a certain portion of the history of England, and find one of the large general histories too bulky for their use. On the other hand, if they employ one of the isolated 'epochs' to which allusion has been made, they find in most cases that there is no succeeding work on the same scale and lines from which the scholar can continue his study and pass on to the next period, without a break in the continuity of his knowledge.

The object of the present series is to provide a set of historical manuals of a convenient size, and at a very moderate price. Each part is complete in itself, but as the volumes will be carefully fitted on to each other, so that the whole form together a single continuous history of England, it will be possible to use any two or more of them in successive terms or years at the option of the instructor. They are kept carefully to the same scale, and the editor has done his best to put before the various authors the necessity of a uniform method of treatment.

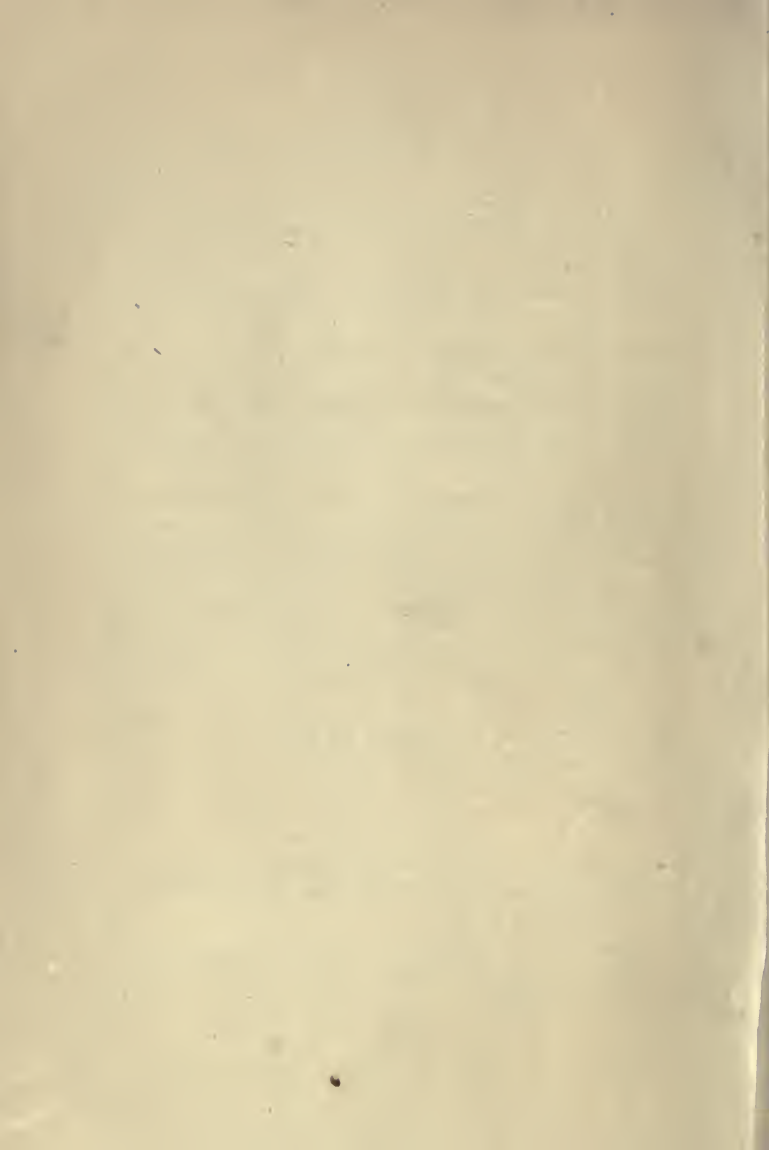
The volumes are intended for the use of the middle and upper forms of schools, and presuppose a desire in the scholar to know something of the social and constitutional history of England, as well as of those purely political events which were of old the sole staple of the average school history. The scale of the series does not permit the authors to enter into minute points of detail. There is no space in a volume of 130 pages for a discussion of the locality of Brunanburgh or of the authorship of *Junius*. But due allowance being made for historical perspective, it is hoped that every event or movement of real importance will meet the reader's eye.

All the volumes are written by resident members of the University of Oxford, actively engaged in teaching in the Final School of Modern History, and the authors trust that their experience in working together, and their knowledge of the methods of instruction in it, may be made useful to a larger public by means of this series of manuals.

OXFORD, *Sept.*, 1896.

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THE MAKING OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER,
1714-1721.

The accession of George, Elector of Hanover and great-grandson of James I., to the throne of England, in virtue of the Act of Settlement, took place without any disturbance. The new king, who arrived in England on September 18, 1714, was a German, equally ignorant of the English tongue, and of the character of the constitution over which he had to preside. A quiet, cautious, unostentatious man, George had none of those qualities which were likely to rouse enthusiasm among his subjects. But he was hard-working and business-like, he made no attempt to tamper with the constitution, and he trusted his ministers implicitly. His accession marks not only the establishment of the political ascendancy of the Whigs, and the development of party government, but also the commencement of that close connection between England and Hanover which so often affected our domestic and foreign politics down to the accession of George III.

The Accession of George I.

There is little doubt that George I. was admirably suited for the position of King of England. At the moment of his accession the political and religious enthusiasms of the seventeenth century were yielding to commercial and materialistic tendencies. The English were rapidly becoming the chief trading nation of Europe; they were planting colonies in the New World and de-

finitely aiming at securing that maritime supremacy which they still enjoy. Before this expansion of commerce with its attendant growth of wealth and prosperity, that interest in things religious which had characterized the seventeenth century was dying, and giving place to a more philosophic, if not a sceptical, spirit. The eighteenth century has been aptly called the "age of reason", and this saying admirably expresses the state of feeling in England under the early Georges.

Even before the advent of the great industrial period, commerce and manufactures had made considerable strides. In 1715 silk spinning with improved machinery was introduced at Derby; about 1740 a system for working iron with pit-coal was for the first time regularly employed, while many and various improvements were being made with regard to agriculture.

Between the death of Anne and the arrival of George I. the country was governed by a Council of Regency,

The Whig
Ministry
under
Townshend.

composed entirely of Whigs, which gave way to an exclusively Whig ministry under Lord Townshend, who, as principal Secretary of State, was practically chief minister. With

him were associated Robert Walpole (who, at first Paymaster of the Forces, became, in October 1715, Chancellor of the Exchequer), Pulteney, Shrewsbury, Sunderland, and all the other recognized chiefs of the party, including Marlborough. With the appointment of the new government began a period of Whig ascendancy which continued unbroken till the accession of George III.

The Whig party, which, after a sharp struggle with the Tories, now entered upon a long tenure of power, found its chief support among the mercantile classes and the Nonconformists, and in the parliamentary influence of the House of Lords. Care for trade, commerce, and colonial expansion naturally led the monied classes to support the Hanoverian Settlement, while the Nonconformists, who had suffered under the late Tory ministry, welcomed the accession of George I. with enthusiasm. Since the Revolution, too, the majority of the peers had

sided with the Whigs; after the death of Anne they acted with the Crown, and by their local influence obtained a complete control over the Lower House. Under the first two Georges the government of the Whigs has been compared to the rule of the Venetian oligarchy, so completely had the House of Commons ceased to represent the nation.

Considering the state of foreign affairs, and the fact that he was a foreigner and unable to take much share in the government, George was wise in deciding to throw himself unreservedly into the hands of the Whigs. Mixed governments had been tried in the reigns of William III. and Anne, and had not been successful. The Whigs rather than the Tories were interested in the maintenance of the ideas of the Revolution of 1688; they were, moreover, regarded in an especial sense not only as trustees of the Revolution Settlement, but also as the defenders of the Protestant Succession. The new Parliament, which met in March 1715, was strongly Whig, and at once took energetic and vindictive measures against the Tories. The negotiations which had led to the Peace of Utrecht were condemned, and of the late ministers, Bolingbroke and Ormond, who had fled to France, were attainted, while Oxford was impeached and committed to the Tower. In 1717 the proceedings against him were allowed to drop, and he was released. But the policy adopted by the government towards the Tories was continued, though in a less violent manner, all through the reign of George I. and that of his successor. The Tories were carefully excluded from office for many years; they were inaccurately identified with the Jacobites, and not unfrequently they numbered but sixty to eighty in the House of Commons.

Before the year was over, however, the government was called upon to deal with a much more serious affair than the dubious treason of the late Tory ministry of 1712-14. In September a vigorous Jacobite rebellion, headed by the Earl of Mar, broke out in Scotland, due, to some extent, to the uncalled-for measures of the triumphant

Outbreak of
the Jacobite
Rebellion of
1715.

Whigs. On the English side of the Border, Lord Derwentwater, Mr. Forster, and a few country gentlemen of Northumberland and Lancashire, took up arms. The rising, which was in full harmony with public opinion in the Lowlands as well as in the Highlands, might have had some chance of success had it been managed by an able leader, had France given it loyal support, had the Pretender been in Scotland when his flag was unfurled, and had the movements in England and Scotland taken place simultaneously. But not one of these requisite conditions of success was present. On November 13 the English Jacobites were defeated at Preston, and the Scottish insurgents were checked at the indecisive battle of Sheriffmuir. The Pretender, who only landed in Scotland on December 22, sailed back to France on

Its failure. February 4, 1716, and the rebellion ended in disastrous failure. The reasons for this failure are not hard to seek. The conflict of the principle of loyalty to the Church and loyalty to the Crown rendered the large majority of Englishmen undecided and unwilling to rise. They dared not risk the results that might follow if they placed a bigoted Papist on the throne. The rising, moreover, was badly organized; no secrecy was kept, Bolingbroke and the Duke of Berwick, the most able of the Pretender's supporters, were hardly consulted, and John, Earl of Mar, an incapable leader, was ordered to raise the Standard before any promises of French help had been secured, and before any rising was prepared in England. The rebellion has with justice been described as "a ludicrous exhibition of recklessness and mismanagement, almost without parallel in history".

During the rebellion the Whigs had, as in 1714, acted with vigour. Sir William Wyndham, Lord Jersey, and other influential Tories were arrested, and, secure of the neutrality of the Regent Philip of Orleans, who since the death of Louis XIV. (September 1, 1715) had governed France, the ministers were enabled to use all available forces against the Jacobites. The success of the government strengthened

Results of the rebellion.

the position of the new dynasty in England, and enabled the Whigs to take measures for establishing their power on a stable basis. Severities, such as the execution of many Jacobites, including Lords Derwentwater and Kenmuir, struck terror into the discontented. But the victory of the Whigs did not raise any feelings of enthusiasm for the House of Hanover. The sentiment of loyalty disappeared: it was impossible to wax emotional over the phlegmatic George. High aims and ideals, indeed, were fast vanishing at the time. Christian zeal began to slumber, and the church entered upon a period of sluggish calm, intensified by the systematic promotion of latitudinarian Whigs to high ecclesiastical posts.

English parliaments had since 1689 been dissolved every three years. To avert the outbreak of any fresh disorder and to avoid the risk of the return of a Tory majority, the government decided to postpone the elections due in 1717 till 1721. With that object the Septennial Act was passed on May 7, 1716. It The Septennial Act. has remained in force ever since. Against this measure violent criticism was aroused. It was asserted with truth that it increased corruption at elections and in the House of Commons. Its social influence was bad for the country gentlemen, who had to spend a considerable portion of the year in London, because they were no longer compelled to devote as much time to cultivating good relations with their constituents as when elections were more frequent. Nor could it be denied that Parliament, in extending its own tenure, was acting in a very high-handed and illegal manner. In favour of the measure, it has been urged that in lessening the number of elections it has relieved the country from much expense, turmoil, and agitation; that it helped to secure the establishment of the House of Hanover; that it increased the power of the House of Commons; that it gives greater independence to members and a fair trial to the policy of ministers; that it has rendered English foreign policy more stable. In short, the circumstances of the time fully justified the passing of the Bill.

The rebellion had thus given the Whigs an opportunity of consolidating their power; Parliament ceased to represent the nation, parliamentary contests degenerated into greedy struggles for place and power, and the dominant majority, though supplying admirable administrators, rested on an oligarchy of great Whig nobles. Secure of their position, the Whigs at once fell to quarrelling among themselves. They soon broke up into two parties, the one headed by Stanhope and Sunderland, the other by Townshend and Walpole.

The Whig Schism of 1717.

Various circumstances had concurred to bring about misunderstandings between the two sections of Whig leaders, and to alienate the king from Walpole and Townshend. In 1716 George had crossed the seas, taking Stanhope with him, to look after his electorate of Hanover, which had become involved in a war with Sweden. During his absence Lord Townshend had sought the favour of the Prince of Wales, who was on very bad terms with his father, and had thus made himself odious to the Hanoverian courtiers in England. Moreover, he had opposed his master's policy with regard to the Tzar, Peter the Great, who, though nominally our ally, was regarded by the king with grave distrust. In addition, George personally disliked Townshend, and had quarrelled with Walpole over a Hanoverian money-matter—the payment of some electoral troops brought over to aid in suppressing the Jacobite rising of 1715. The Earl of Sunderland, who was discontented at having been made Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, joined the king and Stanhope at Hanover, and by his intrigues largely contributed to the overthrow of existing political arrangements.

In December 1716 Townshend was dismissed from his secretaryship of State and sent into honourable banishment as Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Early in April 1717, in consequence of a strong opposition being made in Parliament by Townshend's party to a money grant for an attack on Sweden, George dismissed Townshend even from that office, and the next day Walpole and Pulteney resigned.

Both Stanhope and Sunderland, who were the leading spirits in the new administration, were able and industrious ministers, though the latter represented the oligarchical views held by a large portion of the dominant Whigs. Under the influence of the former minister the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts was repealed, to the great joy of the whole body of Protestant dissenters, while Sunderland was responsible for the attempt to pass the Peerage Bill in 1719. The Whig aristocracy as a body feared the power of the Crown as much as that of the people; they wished to perpetuate their predominance, and to become permanently independent of royal influence. It was feared that the Prince of Wales, who was still on bad terms with his father, would, on his accession, overthrow the existing ministry by means of a creation of peers. The government therefore brought in a Bill, which provided that the Crown should not have the power of adding more than six new peerages to the existing 178, so that there should never be more than 184 in all. Had this Bill been carried, an exclusive hereditary nobility would have been created, and no means would have existed for bringing pressure to bear on the House of Lords when serious differences arose between it and the Commons. Fortunately the opposition of Walpole to the measure proved successful, and the Bill was rejected by 209 to 177. The skill, judgment, and firmness of Walpole had saved our system of government from a great disaster. Shortly afterwards a sort of reconciliation was patched up between the two Whig factions, and Townshend became Lord President, while Walpole was made Paymaster of the Forces. All opposition to the government ceased, but in 1721 the ministry was ruined owing to the South Sea Bubble.

The South Sea Company, a trading venture started in 1711, had been greatly benefited by the grant of the "Assiento", or right to supply Spanish America with negro slaves, and to send one ship annually to the Spanish colonies in South America.

Though ostensibly a trading body the Company was mainly interested in financial operations. In 1719 the chairman of the Company, supported by Sunderland, and by Aislabie, the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, started a proposal to take over the responsibility for the whole of the National Debt, a certain rate of interest being paid to the Company for a stated period. A counter proposal made by the Bank of England was rejected by Parliament, and the South Sea Company, which already enjoyed the monopoly of British trade with Mexico and Peru, took advantage of its victory and of the anxiety of the public to share in its profits, and issued £1,000,000 new stock at a high premium. A further issue at a still higher premium was equally successful, and in August 1720 South Sea stock stood at

Fall of the
Stanhope
Ministry.

1000 per cent. During the mania many bogus companies were formed, often under distinguished patronage. People were found foolish enough to invest in schemes for discovering perpetual motion and utilizing it for machinery, for discovering buried treasure, even "for engaging in a secret undertaking of profit, which shall presently be made public". When these bubble companies began to fail, the South Sea shares also sank in value, for all holders of shares grew despondent and wanted to realize their money at once. Its bonds gradually fell from 1000 down to 135. When the inevitable crash came the nation turned to Walpole, who had from the first opposed the South Sea scheme, and had resisted the passage of the Bill in the House of Commons. The ministry, several members of which had been closely connected with the Company, was discredited. Sunderland resigned, Craggs committed suicide. Aislabie was expelled from the House of Commons "as having been guilty of notorious corruption", while Stanhope, who was not seriously implicated, died in February 1722.

Before he fell, Stanhope had brought to a successful conclusion his schemes of foreign policy, which had for their object the preservation of peace. After the failure

of the Jacobite rebellion the ministers found that the principal source of danger to the tranquillity of Europe lay in the ambitious designs of the Spanish court, and in the opposition of Russia and Prussia to Charles XII. of Sweden. In France the Regent Orleans, threatened by Philip V. of Spain, was impelled to look to England for assistance. In Dubois he found a minister ready to thwart the schemes of the court of Madrid by means of an alliance with the Whigs. Many difficulties had to be overcome before a durable alliance between England and France could be made. The interests of George I. were Hanoverian; the essence of his foreign policy was friendship with Holland and Austria, and Austria had been for fifty years the deadly foe of France.

Foreign
policy.
1714-1721.

In July, however, Dubois met Stanhope at the Hague, and in August he proceeded to Hanover, where he found George in great anxiety about a purely electoral matter—the suspicious conduct of Peter the Great towards Mecklenburg,—and wholly concerned about the safety of his German possessions. The possibility of a recrudescence of Jacobite activity aided Dubois' policy, and a defensive alliance was signed between England and France on November 28, and on January 4, 1717, the adhesion of Holland completed the arrangement known as the Triple Alliance.

The Triple
Alliance,
1717.

It is impossible to overrate the importance of this union of France and England, which implied a reversal of the policy of Louis XIV. The Regent Orleans undertook to expel the Pretender from French territory, to dismantle Dunkirk, and to destroy the works of Mardyck, two ports which England regarded with suspicion. The Protestant succession in England and the separation of the crowns of France and Spain were assured.

The Whig government had thus successfully carried out an arrangement which, in largely contributing to strengthen the Hanoverian dynasty, proved of vast importance to England. Later in the year hostilities broke out between Spain and Austria, and in November a Spanish fleet conquered Sardinia. Alarmed

England and
Spain.

at the prospect of the renewal of a general European war, the Whig government called upon France and Holland to unite in resisting Spanish aggressions. In taking this step Stanhope ignored the fact that, as Charles VI. was aiming at the occupation of Sicily, which since the Peace of Utrecht had been in the hands of the House of Savoy, Spain was perfectly justified in taking measures to checkmate the Emperor. In July 1718, Alberoni, the Spanish minister, projected and carried out the conquest of Sicily, a rash act, seeing that Spain was practically isolated in Europe. But Alberoni refused to believe that French arms would be employed against the Spanish Bourbons, and he was convinced that England, anxious for the extension of commercial privileges, would be opposed to a permanent Austrian occupation of Sicily. His hopes proved groundless. The Spanish fleet was destroyed by Admiral Byng at the battle of Cape Passaro. The battle of Cape Passaro. Aug. 11, 1718. On August 11, the Emperor joined the Triple Alliance, which thus became the Quadruple Alliance, and France and England attacked Spain. In December 1719, Alberoni, treated as a scapegoat, was dismissed by his master, and at the beginning of 1720 Philip V. agreed to make peace. Stanhope had thus been successful in the south of Europe, and the Peace of Utrecht in its main features remained intact. His high-handed proceedings towards Spain, however, brought with them unfortunate results, and the relations between the courts of St. James's and Madrid remained strained during most of the century.

Stanhope's eager, and in some respects lamentable, anxiety to check the resurrection of the power of Spain was due to the desire of George I. to intervene in the affairs of northern Europe. The Northern War. 1714-21. There Sweden was opposed by a league of Powers, which included Russia, Prussia, Saxony, Denmark, and Hanover. In 1716 the Hanoverian ministers had quarrelled with Peter the Great, accusing him of desiring to establish himself permanently in Mecklenburg. The arrest of Gyldenborg, the Swedish envoy in London, in January 1717, and the discovery of

a plot arranged by Goertz, the Swedish minister, for an invasion of Scotland by 12,000 Swedes in the cause of the Pretender, only increased the breach with Peter, who was accused—probably falsely—of being implicated in the plot. Having failed to secure an offensive and defensive alliance with the Regent Orleans, whom he visited in 1717, the Tzar entered into negotiations with Charles XII. and Alberoni for an attack on the Emperor and an invasion of Scotland. Before these schemes could be carried out Charles XII. was killed (December, 1718), and Sweden made peace with all the members of the League except Russia. In the war between Sweden and Russia, the former was aided by the clever diplomacy of the English envoy, Lord Carteret, and by the appearance of the English fleet in the Baltic.

England
and
Russia.

French intervention at length led to negotiations, and in 1721 the Treaty of Nystad between Russia and Sweden restored peace in the north. At the close of his ministry Stanhope could congratulate himself on the success of his peace policy.

Summary of
Stanhope's
foreign
policy.

The author of the Quadruple Alliance, which established peace in the south of Europe, he had also taken a leading part in a successful attempt to prevent the development of the northern struggle into a general European war. The alliance between England and France, founded on the dynastic interests of the Houses of Hanover and Orleans, was beneficial to both countries, and established a political system which lasted till the fall of Walpole. Between 1715 and 1721 an active foreign policy was required, and Stanhope's efforts were, on the whole, crowned with success. In England itself the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion, followed by the Septennial Act, had removed all immediate danger to the Whig government or to the stability of the throne of George I. It remained for Walpole, a minister far more capable than either Townshend or Stanhope, to take further measures for the material advancement of the country, and for the firm establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty.

CHAPTER II.

THE MINISTRY OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, 1721-1742.

The years of Walpole's ministry form an important period in English history. He secured for England nearly twenty years of peace and prosperity, saw the firm establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty on the throne, and fostered an enormous development in the wealth and commerce of the country.

Walpole's
ministry.
1721.

A Norfolk squire of good family, endowed with excellent business capacities, sound judgment, and tact, Walpole had early shown that he possessed those qualities which fit a man for governing a country. He would have been an ideal prime minister but for his too cynical tongue, and his jealousy of all possible rivals. Born in 1676, he had not completed his forty-fifth year when he was called upon, in April 1721, to take the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. These offices he held, with one short break, for twenty-one years, and during his ministry he saw several important constitutional changes quietly effected. Owing to the continued absence of George I. from the meetings of the Cabinet, Walpole became recognized as Prime Minister—the modern conception of monarchy was generally accepted—and a great step was taken in the development of the modern theory of the Cabinet itself. It became, during Walpole's long tenure of office, a united body, the members of which acted together and met under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister.

The premier-
ship and the
Cabinet.

Of Walpole's colleagues the principal were Townshend and Carteret, the two Secretaries of State, and Pulteney, who accepted the office of Cofferer or Treasurer to the King's Household. Of these, Townshend remained in the ministry till 1730, Walpole describing the government during these years

Townshend,
Carteret, and
Pulteney.

as "the firm of Townshend and Walpole". In foreign politics Townshend took considerable interest, and was much in favour of elaborate coalitions. Carteret, one of the best foreign ministers of the century, was able by his knowledge of the German tongue and of continental politics to ingratiate himself with both George I. and George II. William Pulteney, a brilliant debater, was destined, like Shelburne and Charles James Fox, to spend the greater part of his political career in opposition.

The first duty of the new ministry was to deal with a Jacobite conspiracy, in which Atterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, was the leading spirit. The de- Atterbury's
tection of this plot was followed by a Bill of plot.
Pains and Penalties, and the deprivation and banishment of Atterbury himself. In June 1723, on his departure from England, he met at Dover Bolingbroke, who had lately been pardoned and allowed to return to his native country. In 1724 Walpole and Carteret quarrelled. The latter had inherited from Sunderland, who died in 1722, his personal dislike for Walpole and Townshend, with the natural result that it became impossible for him to continue to hold the important office of Secretary of State. He therefore became Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, remaining in the Cabinet till 1730, his Secretaryship of State being given to the Duke of Newcastle, while Henry Pelham became Secretary at War. On his arrival in Ireland Carteret found the whole country in fierce Wood's
opposition to the grant, to an English iron- Halfpence.
master named Wood, of a patent to issue a new copper coinage. The need of a new copper coinage was undoubted, but the patent having been given by the English government and for an Englishman's profit, the patriotism of Irishmen was aroused. Swift skilfully fomented the agitation by his *Drapier's Letters*, and by Carteret's advice the patent was at length withdrawn. Till the end of Walpole's career Ireland gave the English government no further trouble.

Till 1725, "with the temporary suppression of the Jacobite plots, the subjection of Carteret, the pacification

of the ferment in Ireland", Walpole had found the course of politics to run fairly smoothly. But the year 1725 brought with it anxieties both at home and abroad. In that year William Pulteney retired from the government, and Spain and Austria, trusting in the Treaty of Vienna, threatened England's ascendancy in the Mediterranean and her growing commercial supremacy. The retirement of Pulteney was followed by his union with Bolingbroke in an attempt to unite all the elements of opposition to Walpole into one powerful body capable of overthrowing the ministry. The existence of many discontented Whigs, of a large body of Constitutional or Hanoverian Tories under Sir William Wyndham, and of some fifty Jacobites under Shippen, gave an admirable opportunity for the efforts of men as able and vindictive as were Pulteney and Bolingbroke. On December 5, 1726, appeared the first number of the *Craftsman*, a famous opposition newspaper, which, till April 17, 1736, continued each week to attack the minister on all points of foreign and domestic policy. While Pulteney, at the head of the discontented Whigs, and Wyndham, supported by the Hanoverian Tories, made frequent assaults on Walpole in Parliament, Bolingbroke devoted his efforts to exciting the country against the government. Of the many subjects upon which the opposition seized in order to harass the minister, that of foreign politics offered exceptional opportunities for attack. The alliance between Spain and Austria, concluded in May 1725, had two principal objects: the support of the Ostend East India Company (which was designed to strike at the English commercial supremacy in India and China), and the recovery of Gibraltar by Spain. The company, which had in 1722 received formal recognition by the Emperor, proposed to form a commercial establishment in the Austrian Netherlands, and to open trade between that country and the East. An ill-advised letter written by George I. had raised the hopes of Spain with regard to Gibraltar. To the pretensions of the

The First Treaty of Vienna and the growth of a powerful opposition at home. 1725.

The efforts of the opposition.

Foreign Politics from 1725.

courts of Vienna and Madrid public feeling in England offered a determined resistance, and in September 1725 the League of Hanover was formed by England, France, and Prussia, joined later by Sweden, Denmark, and Holland. Europe was thus divided into two camps, and the outbreak of a general war seemed inevitable.

Hostilities, however, only took place between England and Spain. Gibraltar though attacked was successfully defended, while Admiral Hozier watched English interests in the West Indies. The Emperor soon realized that the Spanish Alliance was for Austria an unnatural one, and as soon as Spain discovered that the death of George I. was not followed by any change of policy, she also assumed a more pacific attitude.

George died, entirely unregretted by his subjects, while travelling in his beloved electorate of Hanover, on June 10, 1727. For a few weeks Walpole was superseded by Sir Spencer Compton, Speaker of the House of Commons, a great favourite of the new king. The incapacity of Compton, and the confidence and friendship which the new queen, a very able woman, felt for Walpole, secured the reinstatement of the fallen minister, and a continuance of the home and foreign policy of the late reign. George II. was, like his father, devoted to Hanover and Hanoverian politics. He was a brave soldier, had seen service under Marlborough, and was an honest man, loyal to all those in whom he had placed confidence. His wife, Queen Caroline, was a woman of considerable force of character, and deeply interested in literature and politics. She was a strong supporter of Walpole, and, having an unbounded influence over the king, secured for the ministry during her lifetime an immunity from all anxiety concerning its tenure of power.

In 1728 a congress at Soissons met to try and settle the many complicated questions which then distracted Europe. It proved a failure, and in 1729 England, France, and Spain made the Treaty of Seville. Spain virtually resigned all claim to Gibraltar and Minorca,

The death of
George I.

George II.
and Queen
Caroline.

The Treaty of
Seville. 1729.

and the English privileges of trade as well as the Assiento¹ were confirmed. England and France on their part supported the eventual succession of Don Carlos, the son of Elizabeth Farnese, Queen of Spain, to the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany. The Anglo-French Alliance thus remained undisturbed, and Fleury, the French minister, hoped that Spain, which had again broken with Austria, would trust to the maritime Powers for satisfaction with regard to her claims in Italy. The Emperor, now left isolated, was furious at the Treaty of Seville; he refused to entertain the idea of relinquishing his rights over the Italian duchies, and when in January, 1731, the Duke of Parma died, he marched troops into Italy, and matters were brought to a crisis. A European war was inevitable if Spanish troops, in accordance with the Treaty of Seville, were landed in Italy.

Walpole was now supreme in the Cabinet. In 1730 Carteret had resigned his lord-lieutenancy of Ireland and Retirement of joined the opposition, and Townshend had Townshend. retired from the government. For some time past the relations between Townshend and Walpole had tended to become strained: Walpole had never approved of Townshend's foreign policy, of which the Treaty of Hanover was an example; Townshend had been much irritated at Walpole's habit of allowing objectionable Bills to pass the Commons and leaving the onus of throwing them out to be borne by the Lords.

Supreme in the Cabinet, Walpole, with great skill, managed to preserve the peace of Europe in 1731. While the basis of his foreign policy was the French Alliance, the opposition severely criticized the Treaty of Seville and England's alienation from Austria. Led by Pulteney and Wyndham, the attacks on the government never ceased. It was pointed out that Austria, a country without colonies or a fleet, and since 1688 closely connected with England, was the true ally of this country, and that France and Spain were our real foes. In return for a promise to guarantee the

Walpole
averts war.
The Second
Treaty of
Vienna. 1732.

¹ Or monopoly of the right to import negro slaves into Spanish America.

Pragmatic Sanction (an instrument assuring to Maria Theresa, Charles VI.'s daughter and heiress, the possession of all the Hapsburg dominions), the Emperor consented to withdraw his troops and to allow Don Carlos to enter into possession of Parma and Piacenza. In 1732 the Second Treaty of Vienna, concluded by the Emperor with England, Holland, and Spain, settled all the difficulties which had disturbed Europe for many years, and seemed to ensure the continuance of peace.

In spite, however, of the more settled foreign outlook, and in spite of the apparently strong position of the government at home, the year 1733 saw the ministry shaken and Europe involved in a great war.

Walpole had long wished to conciliate the country gentlemen by lowering the land-tax. He therefore proposed an excise on salt, the proceeds of which would enable him to reduce the land-tax to one shilling. In 1733 he further determined, in order to prevent smuggling, to collect the duties on wine and tobacco in the form of an excise from the retailers. In other words, he proposed to transfer wine and tobacco from the Customs to the Excise, levying no taxes on goods merely imported for re-exportation.¹

In England the idea of an excise had been, ever since the Civil War, most unpopular. A violent agitation at once sprang up against Walpole's scheme. The opposition, aided by the *Craftsman*, inveighed against the government, the members of which were not united on the question, and Walpole yielded to the storm and withdrew the Excise Bill. The opposition had gained its first success, and in the parliament of 1735 Walpole's majority was reduced. In Scotland the next year witnessed the Porteous riots, which, without judicious management, might have had serious consequences. At the execution of a smuggler named Wilson, Porteous, captain of the Edinburgh city guard, fired on a riotous crowd, and being tried for murder, he was condemned to death. His

¹ *Customs* are paid at the seaports when goods are brought into the country; *Excise* is paid when goods are sent about within the country.

sentence being commuted by the English government, the mob stormed the prison and hanged him. With considerable judgment Walpole punished the city of Edinburgh by merely levying a fine to be paid to the widow of Porteous, and Scotland, like Ireland, gave little trouble to the English government till the rising of the Highlanders in 1745.

During these years the Polish Succession War was being waged on the Continent. It broke out in 1733 nominally

over the question of the election of the King of Poland, but it soon resolved itself into a struggle between the Bourbon Powers of France and Spain on the one hand, and Austria, supported by Russia and the German States, on the other.

The Russians and Austrians had little difficulty in expelling from Poland the French candidate, Stanislaus Leszczyński, the father of Louis XV.'s wife, and placing Augustus of Saxony on the throne. But in Italy and on the Rhine the Austrians were not so successful. Exposed to the attacks of the French, Spaniards, and Sardinians, the Hapsburgs quickly lost their hold on Southern Italy, while their possessions in Northern Italy were seriously threatened.

On the Rhine, Philipsburg was taken in 1734 by the French, and Lorraine and the Electorate of Trèves occupied. During these years England remained neutral in spite of the anxiety of the king, supported by the queen, the majority of the Cabinet, and the nation, to respond to the urgent appeals of the Court of Vienna and take part in the war. It was asserted that England ought to oppose the aggrandizement of the Bourbon powers of France and Spain, both of whom were animated by jealousy of the British supremacy on the sea. Austria was England's ancient ally, and the opposition criticized with virulence Walpole's disregard of the growing strength of the Bourbons. It

The Polish Succession War. 1733-35.

The Family Compact of 1733.

is true that on November 7, 1733, France and Spain had concluded the Treaty of the Escorial—a solemn family compact between the two branches of the House of Bourbon. By the terms of this

treaty both nations were to oppose England's commercial aggressions and her attempts at colonial expansion. Though Walpole was aware of the existence of this Family Compact he remained steadily in favour of a policy of non-intervention, which proved of the greatest advantage to France and Spain, no less than to England. He was convinced that England's entry into the war would endanger the Hanoverian succession, would unsettle trade, and would check her colonial and commercial development. "Madam," he said one morning in 1734 to the queen, "there are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe, and not one Englishman."

The Dutch were resolved to remain neutral, and Walpole was undoubtedly influenced in his peace policy by their resolution. Without the co-operation of the United Provinces he was determined not to adopt the offensive. All his energies were devoted to bringing about a general pacification. His diplomacy, aided by the advance of 16,000 Russians to the Rhine, and by quarrels between the Spaniards and Sardinians, was successful, and in 1735 the preliminaries of the Third Treaty of Vienna were signed. France secured the reversion of the duchy of Lorraine, Don Carlos became King of the Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily), and Sardinia secured fresh additions of territory. Austria had succeeded in her aims in Poland, but she had lost heavily elsewhere, and came out of the struggle considerably weakened.

The Third
Treaty of
Vienna. 1735.

After the election of 1735, Bolingbroke, despairing of being able to overthrow Walpole, retired to France, and his political connection with Pulteney came to an end. The opposition to the Prime Minister, however, relaxed none of its violence, and, reinforced by clever young men such as William Pitt and George Grenville, "the Boys", as they were called, rallied round Frederick, Prince of Wales, who was involved in endless quarrels with his father. In 1737 Queen Caroline died, and Walpole lost his most powerful supporter. From this time his difficulties increased.

Difficulties
with Spain.

Taking advantage of the privilege conferred on England in 1716, of sending an annual ship to trade with Spanish America, English traders had engaged in extensive smuggling operations, and in consequence the Spanish officials had exercised, often with undue severity, their rights of search. The English merchants and the Spanish *guarda-costas* had for many years been engaged in intermittent hostilities, when in 1738 the famous Captain Jenkins informed Parliament how some seven years previously his ear had been torn off by the Spanish naval officer who searched his ship for contraband goods. His story provoked great indignation. The opposition seized the opportunity of weakening the government, appealed to the country, and, in Parliament, attacked Walpole's endeavours to arrive by peaceable means at a satisfactory understanding with Spain. War became inevitable, and was declared in October 1739, amid the greatest enthusiasm.

Outbreak of
war with
Spain, 1739.

"Ah! they are ringing the bells to-day," said Walpole; "they will soon be wringing their hands." Admiral Vernon was sent to attack the Spanish West Indies, where he took Porto Bello, but failed to capture Carthagena, while Commodore Anson was despatched round Cape Horn to attack the Spanish settlements on the Pacific.

In consequence of Vernon's want of success, and of Anson's long absence—extending over four years—the country soon ceased to take any interest in the war with Spain. Far greater attention was concentrated on England's efforts to defend Maria Theresa, who had, on the death of Charles VI. in 1740, succeeded to the possession of the Austrian dominions, from the unprovoked attacks of Prussia, France, Spain, Sardinia, Saxony, and Bavaria.

The begin-
ning of the
war of Aus-
trian Suc-
cession, 1740.

On Charles VI.'s death, in 1740, Frederick the Great, the young king of Prussia, determined to take advantage of the weakened condition of Austria, and to seize Silesia. This piratical plan he carried out after the battle of Mollwitz, on April 10, 1741. Encouraged by his success, all the enemies of Austria determined to partition the Hapsburg

dominions, and to make the Elector of Bavaria emperor, and not Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine. Russia being occupied by internal matters, and later by a war with Sweden, was unable to offer the Court of Vienna any assistance, but in England, the cause of the young queen, Maria Theresa, was taken up with the utmost enthusiasm. Though Germany was invaded, and Prague captured by a mixed force of French, Bavarians, and Saxons in 1741, Maria Theresa, by means of the loyalty of the Hungarians, was able before the end of the year to hold her own against her numerous foes. George II., as Elector of Hanover, was by no means averse to the election of Charles Albert of Bavaria as emperor, but was hostile to Prussian aggrandizement. Walpole, on the other hand, recognized that the best solution would be the acceptance by Maria Theresa of the loss of Silesia. Between 1740 and 1742 he struggled to keep peace with France. England was at war with Spain, and war with France would, he was convinced, be followed by a Jacobite rebellion. As the designs of the Bourbons and the allies were gradually unfolded, he realized that their best way to oppose France was by bringing about peace between Prussia and Austria, and by forming a league of German states. The dismemberment of Austria was therefore to be prevented, and during his last months of office Walpole laboured to persuade Maria Theresa to cede Silesia to Prussia, and Frederick the Great to retire from the coalition which had been formed against Austria. All chance of a pacific solution of the European imbroglio was destroyed when Parliament, in May 1741, voted £300,000 for the maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction, and when France decided to join Prussia in an attack on Austria.

But Walpole was no war minister. No adequate preparations had been made in the event of the outbreak of hostilities, and no vigour characterized the naval or military operations. In November 1741, it became known that George II., in the pre-

Enthusiasm
in England
for Maria
Theresa.

The attitude
of George II.
and Walpole.

Walpole's
failure as a
War Minister.

vious April, had made with France a treaty for the neutrality of Hanover for one year, and the ministry became more and more unpopular. Walpole ought to have resigned in 1739 on the outbreak of the war with Spain, which he described as unjust, impolitic, and dishonourable. And though in 1741 he wisely urged a pacification between Frederick the Great and the Empress Queen, his counsels no longer carried weight.

Before circumstances compelled Maria Theresa to adopt Walpole's views that minister's political career had closed. After the general election of 1741, Walpole's majority was reduced to sixteen, and on February 2, 1742, the ministry was defeated on a motion on the Chippenham election petition.

"The fall of Walpole", says Ranke, "was not the fall of an ordinary statesman, but the fall of the political system based upon the first union of the House of Hanover with the Regent of France." His ministry forms a parenthesis in the oft-recurring struggle between England and France, which, beginning in 1688, continued till 1815. Peace being absolutely necessary for the firm establishment of the

Hanoverian dynasty on the English throne, the French alliance became of necessity the key to all Walpole's foreign policy. He had to provide against the possibility of a Jacobite invasion, and a French alliance was therefore requisite. Bolingbroke, Shelburne, and the younger Pitt, till 1792, in like manner preferred the French to the German systems, which found advocates in Sunderland, Carteret, the elder Pitt, and Charles James Fox.

In domestic politics Walpole was equally anxious to procure political tranquillity. He thought that after a great

change, such as the accession of the Hanoverian line, important and contentious measures were inopportune. Much may be said in favour

of his policy. Great constitutional reforms were not a pressing need, and the second quarter of the eighteenth century was in truth the period of preparation for the immense colonial and industrial expansion which was

The fall of
Walpole.
Feb., 1742.

The value of
the French
alliance.

Review of
Walpole's
ministry.

to begin under the elder Pitt. Walpole persisted in his endeavours to win over the country gentlemen by lowering the land-tax, he refused to stir up the hostility of churchmen by repealing the Test Act, his tact in regard to Wood's Halfpence and the Porteous Riots checked disaffection in Ireland and Scotland. His financial policy was equally wise. In 1730 he passed an act allowing the planters of Georgia and Carolina "to export their rice direct to any port in Europe south of Finisterre, provided they sent it in British ships manned by British sailors".¹ Other colonial restrictions were removed, and the West Indian traders were immensely benefited. Under his rule England's material advancement was enormous and the growth of her colonial trade was striking. His Excise Scheme was admirably conceived, and later in the century became law. He reduced the customs duties and the national debt, and in many similar ways increased the comfort of the people.

His relations with Parliament and the Cabinet have left their mark on constitutional history. The House of Commons began to assume that position of supremacy in our political system which it now holds, and a long stride was made towards establishing the principles of the collective and mutual responsibility of ministers to the House of Commons, of the political homogeneity and solidarity of the Cabinet, and of the supremacy of the Prime Minister, principles which are now understood to be essential to Cabinet government. "Walpole", said Burke, "was an honourable man and a sound Whig." Though Walpole, the first leader of the House of Commons in a modern sense, undoubtedly practised parliamentary corruption, it is not true that he organized corruption as a system. Ever since Charles II.'s accession corruption had been on the increase, and was regularly practised on many occasions. Crown patronage was exclusively reserved by Walpole for members of his own party, but in this and other matters he acted in accordance with the political customs of his day. Of systematic

His relations
with Parlia-
ment and the
Cabinet.

¹ Morley's *Walpole*, p. 148.

corruption on behalf of his supporters or for the benefit of himself there is no adequate proof.

His ministry was not likely to create any enthusiasm. Absolute master of the House of Commons, he restored confidence to all classes, and owed no little of his power to the moneyed interest. He

No sympathy
for religion or
literature.

had no sympathy with religion or with literature, though he endeavoured to use the services of pamphleteers for political purposes. His treatment of the Church of England had disastrous results. For the lifeless Christianity of the reigns of the first two Georges, and the absence of church development at a time when the population was beginning to transfer itself to new centres in the great towns, and in the colonies, Walpole and the Whigs were directly answerable.

At home his policy of *quieta non movere* was not unwelcome to a nation bent on seeking material prosperity, and averse to political or social upheavals. In 1742, however, the country ceased to be content with a foreign policy which had for its main object the maintenance of the balance of power and the terms of the Peace of Utrecht. Colonial expansion demanded a more adventurous system, and under Wilmington, the Pelhams, and Pitt England not only established her own empire but contributed to the settlement of Europe, which had been stirred to its depths by Frederick the Great's seizure of Silesia. England owes her successes by sea and by land between 1742 and 1763 in no small measure to the wise administration of her great peace minister.

CHAPTER III.

THE MINISTRIES OF WILMINGTON AND HENRY PELHAM,
1742-1754.

On his retirement from office Walpole left the Hanoverian dynasty firmly established on the throne, and the system of government by party ministries depending on parliamentary majorities finally consolidated. Though

he retired to the House of Lords as Earl of Orford his influence continued to make itself felt till his death in 1745. No great changes were made in the administration. Lord Wilmington (Sir Spencer Compton), a mere nonentity, but a man much liked by the king, became titular Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury; the able but volatile Carteret succeeded Harrington as one of the two Secretaries of State, the weak and pliable Duke of Newcastle keeping his place as the other secretary. No Tories received any appointments. Of the other Whigs who had lately been in opposition, Lord Chesterfield and Pitt were excluded from the government, and Pulteney, who had been chiefly instrumental in bringing about Walpole's fall, withdrew into the House of Lords as Lord Bath, and refused to hold any office, though retaining a place in the Cabinet. The Whig factions had thus temporarily coalesced under the nominal leadership of Wilmington, and the first act of the government was to institute an inquiry into the conduct of Walpole. After about a year the investigation fell to the ground, it being found that most of the charges against the late administrators were not of a serious character. No real change was made either in home or foreign policy by the new ministry, the leading members of which were Carteret, Newcastle, and his brother, Henry Pelham. From this time that disintegration of the Whig party began, which, twenty years later, was to enable George III. to restore real authority to the crown. The government found itself called upon to deal with a variety of problems which henceforward required solution. Up till 1763 Europe was engaged in an endeavour to settle the questions which forced themselves into prominence between 1715 and 1740. Was the British or the French element to be supreme in North America? Were the French or the English to control the destinies of India? Was Prussia or Austria to enjoy the headship of the German states? These questions were in great part decided at the close of the Seven Years' War, when Prussia was recognized

Wilmington
Prime
Minister.

Problems
awaiting
solution.

as the equal of Austria, and England's supremacy in North America and India was assured.

Into the European struggle Carteret, who managed foreign affairs, threw himself with great energy. A skilled diplomatist, with a great knowledge of foreign tongues and foreign politics, he sympathized with the king's Hanoverian tendencies, and a vigorous continental policy was adopted. The army and navy were increased, 16,000 British troops were landed in the Low Countries, a number of Hanoverians were taken into our pay, and the Dutch also prepared to support England. The war, from being a struggle over the Pragmatic Sanction, seemed likely to develop into a contest in which all Europe would be engaged. Like Walpole, Carteret insisted on the necessity of Austria accepting the loss of Silesia; and Maria Theresa with great reluctance consented in June to sign the preliminaries of Breslau with Frederick the Great. On July 28, 1742, the Treaty of Berlin was concluded, Frederick's possession of Silesia was secured, and Maria Theresa was left free to devote all her energies and resources to combating the French, Bavarians, and Spaniards. In this task the assistance given by the English proved most valuable. Admiral Matthews, who had forced Charles, the Spanish king of Naples (Don Carlos), to neutrality, was supreme in the Mediterranean, and supported the King of Sardinia. Meanwhile the Anglo-Hanoverian army in Flanders, under Lord Stair, taking advantage of the disasters to the French arms in Bohemia, advanced in 1743 into Southern Germany in order to drive the French over the Rhine and crush Bavaria. In May, Stair was joined by an Austrian force, and when the French tried to cut off his communication with the north he turned to force his way through them. On July 27 the battle of Dettingen was fought, the last fight in which a king of England ever took part. In the fierce struggle George II. showed considerable personal bravery. The French under Noailles being defeated retired into France. The results of this victory were

considerable. Germany was cleared of the French troops; the Bavarian emperor, Charles VII., was forced to take up a neutral position, and negotiations for peace were undertaken by George II. and Carteret.

In July Wilmington died, and, owing to the influence of Lord Orford (Walpole), Henry Pelham succeeded to the position of Prime Minister. Carteret, however, still continued to direct foreign affairs, and endeavoured to unite Europe against France. But while George II. and Carteret took a German view of the situation, proposing not only to preserve the Austrian alliance but also to support the Emperor and to recover for him his Bavarian lands, the people of England, objecting to the use of Hanoverian troops in Germany, and to all arrangements with the Emperor, demanded that if the war was continued all the resources of the country should be concentrated upon the naval struggle with France.

Death of
Wilmington.
Henry
Pelham
Prime
Minister. 1743.

The war was no longer waged for the preservation of Austria, but had now for its object the crushing of France, and many thought that England might withdraw from operations on the Continent. The alleged subordination of British to Hanoverian interests, the king's determination to pay the Hanoverian troops in time of war with English money, and his disposition to use the resources of Britain on behalf of his electorate, all tended to make the war and Carteret, its chief supporter, unpopular.

On September 13, 1743, the Treaty of Worms was signed by England, Austria, Holland, Saxony, and Sardinia, with the object of preserving the Pragmatic Sanction and the integrity of the Austrian dominions in Germany and Italy. France and Spain replied on October 25 with the Treaty of Fontainebleau (or the

The Treaties
of Worms
and Fon-
tainebleau,
September 13,
and October
25, 1743.

Second Family Compact, as it is sometimes called). Early in 1744 France declared war upon England and Austria, and till 1748 the issues were plain, and the contest assumed an intelligible form.

Thus for five more years the war continued, being

waged not only on the sea but also in Italy, on the Rhine, and in the Netherlands. The years 1744 and 1745, however, saw further developments of the struggle both in Germany and in Great Britain. Frederick the Great suspected that the Austrians were planning the recovery of Silesia: he dreaded the covert hostility of George II. as elector of Hanover, and moreover he was convinced that the Hapsburgs meditated the permanent occupation of Bavaria. He resolved to defend not only his own conquests in Silesia but also the rights of the empire. On April 5, 1744, with the support of the French, he formed the League of Frankfort, which, though not joined by many German princes, enabled Prussia to pose as the defender of the rights of the Emperor and the empire. In June a treaty was made between Louis XV. and Frederick the Great, and shortly afterward the second Silesian war began, and continued till December 25, 1745, when Austria, by the Treaty of Dresden, was again forced to recognize her inability to reconquer Silesia. During the struggle the Bavarian emperor, Charles VII., died (Jan. 20, 1745), and Austria agreed to forgo her intention of seizing his dominions. One result of this renewal of hostilities between Maria Theresa and Frederick the Great was the withdrawal of Austrian troops from Alsace. A projected French invasion of England on behalf of the Pretender early in 1744 had been frustrated mainly by the tempestuous winds; but on May 11, 1745, owing to the inaction of the Dutch contingent, the combined Anglo-Hanoverian forces were defeated at Fontenoy.

New character of the war, 1744.

The battle of Fontenoy, May 11, 1745.

During these years important changes had taken place in the *personnel* of the government. Carteret, identified with the unpopular Hanoverian policy, had been estranged from his colleagues, to whom his arrogance and his close relations with the king were not acceptable. In November 1744, he, Lord Winchelsea, and others left the government, and Henry

Retirement of Carteret, Nov. 1744.

Pelham was enabled to carry out considerable changes. Harrington succeeded Carteret, Chesterfield became Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Gower, a Tory, became Privy Seal, Grenville, Henry Fox, Bedford, Grafton, and the Jacobite, Sir John Cotton, received offices, and thus what is known as the Broad Bottom Administration was formed. In spite of the denunciation of Carteret's policy in which he had indulged, Henry Pelham found himself compelled to carry on the policy of introducing German troops, and to defend English interests against the energetic French policy in Flanders and in Scotland.

James, the elder Pretender, was still alive; but he was an old man, and his bold and active son Charles Edward was now leading the Jacobites. Though the French army of invasion had been dispersed, the young prince resolved to try his fortune in Scotland. He slipped off to sea and reached Loch Moidart in the Western Highlands with but a single ship and seven companions. The chiefs of the Western clans, the Stewarts, Macdonalds, and Camerons, to whom he appealed for aid, were aghast at his rashness, and besought him to return to France. But his fiery appeals to their loyalty induced them to throw prudence to the winds. His standard was hoisted at Glenfinnan on Aug. 19, 1745, and a small but gallant army gathered around it. There were but a few regiments of regular troops in Scotland, commanded by Sir John Cope, a slow and timid general. While he was vainly seeking to hunt down the Prince, the latter slipped southward, and got between the capital and his enemy. He occupied Edinburgh, though the veteran George Preston held the castle for the government, and on September 21 the wild rush of his Highlanders scattered Sir John Cope's small army and won the battle of Prestonpans.

The Jacobite
rebellion of
1745-46.

In November, at the head of 5000 men, he marched into England and reached Derby. But the English population, while entirely indifferent to the House of Hanover, had for the most part lost all feeling of loyalty towards the Stuarts. They remained apathetic, and

showed no signs of any intention of risking their lives or property for the cause of the Pretender. This neutrality of the English population, combined with the approach of the armies of Wade and Cumberland, who had been



recalled from Flanders, while another force gathered on Finchley Common for the protection of London, decided the military advisers of Charles Edward to counsel a retreat. After a halt at Glasgow, the Jacobites, now numbering 9000, won the battle of Falkirk on January 17, 1746. But they were compelled to retreat northwards, and at last totally defeated on April 16 at Culloden Moor, near Inverness, by

The battle of Culloden and end of the rising, 1746.

the Duke of Cumberland. The rebellion was cruelly suppressed, and after many romantic adventures and hair-breadth escapes Charles Edward sailed from Scotland to France on September 20. His escape was entirely due to the loyalty of the Highland population to his cause, and the heroism of Flora Macdonald and other less famous partisans of his house.

The rising had never had much chance of success. No French support was available, while in Scotland the city of Glasgow was Hanoverian, and opinion in the Lowlands was divided. Only in the Highlands could Charles Edward find loyal assistance, and the Highlanders, numbering only one-twelfth of the Scottish population, were devoid of discipline, and showed a fatal propensity to return to their homes after a victory with the plunder they had gained. Had it not been for the incapacity of the military authorities in England the Pretender's cause would have collapsed in 1745.

During this rebellion, in which the government, as in 1715, received little active support from the English people, a ministerial crisis had occurred. Carteret, now Lord Granville, and Bath still had great influence with the king, and the Pelhams found their position untenable. They therefore demanded the admission of Pitt into the government, and upon the king's refusal the ministry, in February 1746, resigned. Granville and Bath found themselves unable to form a government, and George was compelled to restore the Pelham administration, and to consent to Pitt receiving the lucrative office of Vice-treasurer of Ireland, and later that of Paymaster to the Forces. Till the accession of George III. the Whig oligarchy enjoyed undisturbed the possession of political power.

Ministerial
crisis, Feb.
1746.

During the years 1746 and 1747 the French, though unsuccessful in Italy, not only held their own in Flanders but practically occupied the whole country. The English and Dutch were defeated by Marshal Saxe at the battles of Raucoux and Laufeld, Bergen-op-Zoom, the bulwark of

End of the
war and Peace
of Aix-la-
Chapelle. 1746.

Holland to the south, was taken, and Maestricht, her eastern stronghold, was besieged. With the exception of Anson's voyages round Cape Horn, the doings of the English commanders both on land and sea during Pelham's administration displayed nought but incapacity. The superiority of the English over the French fleets had been asserted, and in 1745 Cape Breton Island was captured. Though, at the request of the allies, 30,000 Russians were marching across Europe, England and Holland were anxious for peace. The French, being deprived of the assistance of the young Elector of Bavaria, who had made the Treaty of Füssen in 1745 with Austria, and of Frederick of Prussia, who had signed on his own account the Treaty of Dresden in December 1745, and having, moreover, no fleet, were also ready to negotiate. Chesterfield, who had succeeded Harrington as Secretary of State, and Puiseux, the French foreign minister, both desired a cessation of hostilities.

On April 30, 1748, the preliminaries of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle were signed, Austria protesting against the action of England. To the influence of England Maria Theresa attributed her loss of Silesia to Frederick the Great, and her cession of Lombard territory to Sardinia at the Treaty of Worms. She now found herself compelled to give more Italian territory to Charles Emanuel, and made energetic attempts to win over the French, and to shake herself free from England. But her efforts failed, and in October and November all the great Powers agreed to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Don Philip, the second son of the Spanish queen, Elizabeth Farnese, received Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla; the King of Sardinia was given more Milanese territory. Prussia was secured in the possession of Silesia, and, excepting the Austrian cessions to Prussia and Sardinia, the integrity of the Pragmatic Sanction was assured. England and France agreed to a mutual restoration of conquests. By this agreement the English gave up Cape Breton, while the French restored several English factories in India which they had captured. For the war in the far East

had gone badly for England. A great French adventurer named Dupleix had raised the first army of disciplined and drilled native troops, or sepoy, and by their aid had beaten the English, and taken Madras, their chief settlement. He had also made vassals of the Nawabs of the Deccan and the Carnatic, the two chief princes of Southern India. Hence the peace came as a crowning mercy to the English in the East, and checked Dupleix's scheme for driving them entirely out of the land.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the great work of the Pelham ministry, proved to be merely a truce. The disputes between England and France in North America and India remained undecided, and Austria was by no means reconciled to the loss of Silesia. Maria Theresa was, moreover, furious at the conduct of England, and was already anxious to ally herself with France. For eight years, however, Europe was to enjoy an uneasy period of peace until the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, which secured England's supremacy in America and India, and the possession of Silesia to Frederick the Great.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle only a truce.

During the Austrian Succession War domestic affairs had remained in the background. In October 1745, Sir F. Dashwood had indeed moved an amendment to the address, claiming for the people the "right to be freely and fairly represented in Parliament", but no serious attempt was made to bring the House of Commons more into harmony with the mass of the nation. After the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion the Highlanders were disarmed, and the chiefs were deprived of their hereditary jurisdictions, for which compensation was given. After the close of the Austrian Succession War political rivalries for a time ceased, several Tories were given places in the government, and Pelham was enabled to carry out many useful measures. The interest on the National Debt was in 1749 reduced from five to three per cent, and a consolidation scheme was introduced, to the great benefit of the nation. In 1751 the Prince of Wales and Bolingbroke

Domestic affairs during and after the war.

died. The former left a widow, Augusta of Saxe-Coburg, and a son who, born in 1738, became George III. Bolingbroke had lived to see the Hanoverian dynasty firmly established on the throne, and the colonial policy which he had initiated continued with success by Walpole and Pelham. In 1752, through the influence of Lord Chesterfield, who had left the ministry in 1747, the Calendar was reformed. England had hitherto adopted the Julian reckoning, which was incorrect, and in 1752 the English calendar was eleven days behind the Gregorian and correct calendar. Accordingly, in September 1752, eleven days were suppressed, and the cause of much confusion was removed, not without some protests by ignorant mobs, who cried "Give us back our eleven days".

The following year a useful Marriage Act to prevent clandestine marriages was introduced by Lord Hardwicke, which provided that with the exception of Quaker and Jewish marriages, no wedlock would be legal unless the persons concerned had complied with certain formalities, or had been married by a clergyman of the Church of England. The same year a Bill for the naturalization of the Jews was passed; but though in most matters the nation was lethargic, all questions which implied religious toleration almost invariably roused popular opposition. The outcry against this measure was so great that in the following session the Bill was repealed. Much distress having been caused by the large reduction in the army and navy after 1748, a system of emigration was inaugurated, and proved eminently successful. About 4000 colonists sailed to America, and Halifax was founded.

In 1754 Henry Pelham died. Honest, business-like, and conciliatory, he had inspired universal confidence.

Death of Henry Pelham, 1754. His ministry, in no sense brilliant, saw many useful measures passed, and the interests of England safeguarded abroad and developed at home. But Parliament was corrupt, and did not represent the nation, while the executive was dominated by an increasing interest in commercial and financial questions. "In very few periods in English political

history", writes Mr. Lecky, "was the commercial element more conspicuous in administration." In spite, however, of the absence of high political aims and of legislative measures for checking parliamentary corruption, the strong ministry of the Pelhams synchronized with the gradual reawakening of the English people to the possibility of moral development side by side with material prosperity.

The years from 1743 to 1754 form a period of preparation for the moral and intellectual revival which owes its beginning to the Wesleys and Whitefield, for the outbreak of national enthusiasm which was aroused by Pitt, and for the industrial

Characteristics of his ministry.

revolution which led to very striking changes in England during the reign of George III. Of these, the great Methodist movement, which had begun in 1738 with the return of John Wesley from his missionary

The Methodist revival.

visit to Georgia, was a reaction against that decline of religious feeling which characterized the age and which was due in some measure to the policy of Walpole and the Whig governments towards the church. Political appointments to high ecclesiastical posts resulted in non-resident bishops, a careless and unspiritual clergy, and a low moral tone among the laity. Literature and the drama suffered, political corruption increased, the poor were neglected, atheism and agnosticism grew. The reaction which John Wesley and George Whitefield headed led to the development of spirituality among the clergy, and prepared the way for that outburst of patriotism and for that recognition of the need of a higher political morality which are associated with the name of William Pitt.

CHAPTER IV.

PITT AND THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1754-1763.

On the death of Henry Pelham in 1754, his elder brother Thomas, the Duke of Newcastle, became Prime

Minister. Born in 1694, Newcastle had taken to politics early: he had been Secretary of State for thirty years, and had acquired considerable knowledge of parliamentary management. He was honest and well-meaning, but he was no statesman, and, though leader of the great Whig party during the years succeeding his brother's death, he showed himself absolutely incapable of guiding the policy of England at home or abroad. Weakness and vacillation characterized all his actions, and he clung to office when it had long become apparent he was unable to conduct a great war.

Newcastle's
ministry,
1754-1756.

The choice of Sir Thomas Robinson to be leader of the House of Commons proved unfortunate. His inexperience and inefficiency were exposed by Henry Fox and Pitt, and the House of Commons soon lost the peaceful character which it had lately enjoyed. It became evident that the party struggles which, under Pelham's conciliatory rule, had subsided, would again break out. In 1755 Fox succeeded Robinson as leader of the Commons and Secretary of State, and shortly afterwards Pitt, Legge, the able Chancellor of the Exchequer, and George Grenville were removed from their offices for having opposed the ratification of a number of subsidiary treaties made by George II. with Russia, Hesse, and some minor German states.

These subsidiary treaties had been rendered necessary owing to the imminence of a great war, which was about to spread not only over Europe but also over India and North America.

A great war
impending.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had left many important matters unsettled. Austria remained determined to regain Silesia, and Russia and Saxony were prepared to aid her on the first favourable opportunity. In India and America the outlook was equally unsettled. The energetic attempts of Dupleix and Labourdonnais to ruin the English power in the East, had indeed to some extent ceased with the recall of the former in 1754, but a struggle between England and France in India was inevitable. In North America the limits of our colonies

had never been defined, and the encroachments of the French, coupled with their attempts to connect Canada and Louisiana by a chain of forts along the Mississippi valley, led to a colonial war. At its beginning General



Braddock, while marching against Fort Duquesne, was surprised in the woods by the French and Indians, and fell with half his troops. The maritime rivalry between the English and French also brought on continual conflicts, and in 1755 the capture of two French ships, the

Alcide and *Lys*, during a time of peace, caused intense excitement in France. Though the irresolution and weakness of the English and French cabinets prevented an immediate rupture, it was evident that the inevitable conflict was within a measurable distance.

It was under these circumstances that George II., in his anxiety for the safety of Hanover, had made those subsidiary treaties which had led to the dismissal of Pitt. It had been for some time recognized by the English ministry that the outbreak of war with France would be followed by the invasion of the Austrian Netherlands and of Hanover. In the defence of the former it was hoped that the Austrians would as usual co-operate with the English and Dutch. But Maria Theresa, furious at the conduct of England during the Austrian Succession War, would only aid in the defence of the Netherlands if England would support her schemes against Silesia.

The ancient alliance between England and Austria, which had subsisted since the days of William III., thus came to an end, and England was forced to rely upon Russia for the defence of her continental dominions. On September 30, 1755, the Tsarina Elizabeth agreed to a subsidy-treaty, in accordance with which 55,000 Russian troops were to be taken into English pay for the defence of Hanover. But ere this treaty was four months old a fresh arrangement was entered into by England with Frederick of Prussia, which decided the policy of the leading European powers.

On January 16, 1756, the Convention of Westminster was signed, by which England and Prussia agreed to guarantee the neutrality of Germany. The necessity for bringing Russian troops into Hanover no longer existed, and George II. had secured in Frederick the Great a valuable ally. But the Empress of Russia, furious at such a slight, drew nearer to Austria, both powers being resolved on the destruction of Prussia. France also, who had never

End of the
Anglo-
Austrian
alliance, 1755.

Anglo-
Russian
Treaty, Sept.
1755.

Alliance be-
tween Eng-
land and
Prussia, Jan.
16, 1756.

forgiven her desertion by Frederick the Great in the last war, accepted the proposals of the Austrian minister Kaunitz, and on May 1, 1756, the first Treaty of Versailles was signed, followed a year later by the second treaty. The diplomatic revolution of 1756 was thus effected, England and Prussia were opposed by France and Austria, and Frederick had also to withstand the attacks of Russia. On May 15 England declared war on France, and in August Frederick invaded Saxony, and the Seven Years' War was begun.

During this momentous year the English government showed neither energy nor capacity. The fussy incompetence of the Prime Minister seemed to have infected all his subordinates, and disasters came thick and fast. In June Admiral Byng sailed to relieve Minorca, our chief stronghold in the Mediterranean, from the attacks of a French expedition. He turned back in a very faint-hearted way on finding the hostile fleet stronger, and let Minorca fall without striking a blow to aid it. The popular outcry at this disaster was so great that Newcastle, on whom the burden of Byng's offence was laid, placed his resignation in the king's hands (Nov. 1756).

The loss of
Minorca.

Not many days after this defeat in the Mediterranean, a shocking disaster had occurred in India. Suraj-ud-Dauleh, the Nawab of Bengal, had descended on the British factory at Calcutta, captured it after a weak defence, and thrust the prisoners into a single close room, the "Black Hole", where 123 of them perished in one night of overcrowding, heat, and exhaustion (June, 1756).

The Black
Hole, June
1756.

The opposition Whigs endeavoured to form a Cabinet after Newcastle's fall. The Duke of Devonshire became Prime Minister, and Pitt one of the Secretaries of State. The latter's influence was practically supreme, and energetic measures followed his assumption of office. But he was unable to save the unfortunate Byng, who was hastily tried and condemned to death for failing to relieve Minorca, a victim to popular clamour rather than justice, for he had failed from incompetence, not from treachery.

Pitt succeeded, however, in passing a bill for the increase of the militia, and in carrying out a wise scheme for raising two regiments of infantry of the line from among the Highland clans. By these means he allayed the disloyalty of the Scots, and carried into effect a measure which, proposed by Duncan Forbes in 1738, had received the warm support of Walpole.¹ Moreover, he sent reinforcements to America, and by his vigorous policy soon gained the complete confidence of the nation.

In spite, however, of these energetic measures, the Devonshire ministry was weak and its fall inevitable. Fall of the ministry. George II. remained steadily hostile to both Pitt and Temple, the great Whig families refused to support the ministers, and public opinion continued to express itself openly against Byng. For a short period, indeed, Pitt himself incurred a certain amount of unpopularity through his opposition to the discreditable execution of the admiral. On April 5, 1757, the ministry fell, owing to the dismissal of Pitt, and for nearly three months the country was without a government.

Public opinion declared itself strongly on the side of Pitt, who was presented with the freedom of the City of London and many other towns. At last, The Pitt-Newcastle ministry. after long and tedious negotiations, the Pitt-Newcastle ministry was formed, which remained in office for nearly six years. The union of Newcastle's parliamentary influence with the genius of Pitt had produced a coalition which, in its results, justified the arrangement on which it was based: Newcastle returned to the Treasury, Pitt and Holderness became Secretaries of State, and Lord Anson resumed the Admiralty. While to Newcastle was intrusted the Treasury and the distribution of patronage, Pitt secured full control over the war, the leadership of the House of Commons, and the steady support of a large majority in Parliament. As a contemporary remarked "the Duke gives everything, and Mr. Pitt *does* everything". Fox was satisfied with the lucrative post of Paymaster of the Forces, and the

¹ Lecky, *History of England*, vol. i. 333, ii. 458.

government of the country was at last in competent hands.

By his eloquence, his disinterestedness, his independence, and his remarkable intellectual power, Pitt preserved his ascendancy unbroken till the accession of George III. Honesty in times of wide-spread corruption has always had an attraction for the majority of men in every country, and Pitt conveyed an impression of sincerity and integrity during one of the most corrupt periods in English history. His contempt for party government at a time marked by the decadence of political life, brought about by the ambitions and jealousies of the great families, distinguished him at once from the ordinary place-hunter of the day. In spite of many inconsistencies, in spite of his self-consciousness, of his exaggerated regard for royalty, and notwithstanding his arrogance and his ostentation, Pitt was a great man, and one of the greatest of England's war ministers. "No man", said Burke, "was ever better fitted to be the minister of a great and powerful nation."

At the beginning of his second ministry England lay in a humiliating if not in a dangerous position. The loss of Minorca and the activity of the French fleets had not only destroyed her supremacy in the Mediterranean, but had even endangered her connection with the West Indies and the coasts of Africa.

Position of
England in
1757.

In Canada the French showed great activity, while an English expedition against Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, failed; Rochefort, the French arsenal in the Bay of Biscay, was unsuccessfully assailed, though the expeditions to it and

The Conven-
tion of Kloster-
Seven, Sept. 8,
1757.

other French ports served a useful purpose in employing the French forces on their own coasts. Meanwhile, on the Continent the league against Frederick the Great and Hanover gained signal successes. On June 18 the King of Prussia was defeated at Kolin, and having lost 14,000 men was forced to retire into Saxony; on July 26 the Duke of Cumberland at the head of the Hessian and Hanoverian troops was beaten by the French at Hasten-

beck, and on September 8 signed the Convention of Kloster-Seven, allowing the enemy to occupy the electorate till a general peace. It was at this time, when the English cause all over the world was suffering from gross mismanagement, that Pitt proposed, though fortunately without success, to hand over Gibraltar to Spain as the price of her alliance and her aid in the recovery of Minorca. In England itself great discontent prevailed, and the act organizing a national militia provoked riots in various parts of the country districts.

Before many months were over Pitt's influence made itself felt. "I am sure", he had once said to the Duke of Devonshire, "that I can save the country, and that no one else can." He determined to support Frederick the Great with money and some troops, while he concentrated the resources and energies of England on expelling the French from America and on securing the supremacy of the sea. On November 5, 1757, Frederick the Great won the decisive battle of Rossbach, which Napoleon I. declared brought with it the fall of the Bourbons.

**Victories of
Frederick the
Great.**

A month later the Austrians were overthrown at the battle of Leuthen. The enthusiasm felt in Germany for these victories and for the Prussian king was shared by England, now reinvigorated by Pitt's courage and confidence. The Convention of Kloster-Seven was repudiated, a subsidy of £670,000 was early in 1758 obtained for Frederick, and Ferdinand of Brunswick, one of the most capable of the Prussian generals, was given the command of the Hanoverian army, now reinforced by British troops. Without British support Frederick the Great would have found the task of resisting the attacks of his foes well-nigh impossible. But when relieved of all fears of a French attack he was enabled to devote all his attention to the Austrians and Russians. In August, 1758, he won the battle of Zorndorf against the latter, and though defeated by the Austrians at Hochkirchen in October he forced them to retreat into Silesia.

Equally effective were Pitt's plans against the French

in Europe and in the colonies. The French ports were blockaded and no ships of war were allowed to leave the Mediterranean. Frequent expeditions were made against the seaport towns of France, while simultaneously fleets were sent to India, America, and the West Indies to attack the French possessions and colonies. In Canada Abercrombie replaced Loudoun as commander-in-chief, and Wolfe, Howe, and Amherst were given important commands. Boscawen with a powerful fleet attacked Louisburg, which with the whole of Cape Breton Island was taken in July, 1758. Though the English failed at Ticonderoga, where Howe was killed, Fort Duquesne was captured and renamed Pittsburg. With its fall the French communications between Louisiana and Canada were cut, and the fate of Louis XV.'s power in North America was sealed. In 1759, the great year of victories, the English superiority at sea was firmly established, and the annihilation of the French fleets was accompanied by a series of disasters to the French cause in India and Canada.

The struggle
in Canada
and on the
sea.

The victory of Boscawen in the summer over the Toulon fleet at Lagos, and that of Hawke at Quiberon Bay in November over the Brest fleet, enabled English ships to be sent to distant seas and freed England from all fear of invasion. Unable to support Montcalm, the commander in Canada, with reinforcements, Louis XV.'s government was forced to confine its efforts to operations in Europe, while Canada was rapidly conquered. One English force seized Fort Niagara, while another under Amherst captured Ticonderoga, but, checked at Lake Champlain, was unable to effect a junction with Wolfe. The latter with a small army had ascended the St. Lawrence, and on September 18 took Quebec. The capture of this place was only secured by a deed of great daring. The adjoining shores were fringed with French batteries at all the points where a landing seemed possible. After suffering two severe checks, Wolfe got a footing on the French shore by

Lagos and
Quiberon Bay.
1759.

The battle of
Quebec and
the conquest
of Canada.

scaling with his men, under cover of night, a precipitous cliff at the water's edge which the enemy had regarded as insurmountable. When Montcalm hurried against him to retake the Heights of Abraham, the French suffered a severe defeat and Quebec surrendered. This brilliant feat was only accomplished at the cost of the life of Wolfe, who, at the age of thirty-three, fell in the hour of victory; his equally brave opponent, Montcalm, was also killed. The battle of Quebec proved decisive in the history of America. The following year De Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, surrendered all the French possessions in the north to the English, and the French holding in the Western Hemisphere was confined to a small territory at the mouth of the Mississippi.

Meanwhile in Germany the year 1759 was equally noteworthy. An advance of the French forces had been checked by Ferdinand of Brunswick, who, on August 1, won the decisive battle of Minden. A fortnight later Frederick the Great was well-nigh overwhelmed by the Russians in the disastrous battle of Kunersdorf. But in his extremity he found the reinforcements which he obtained from Brunswick's victorious troops invaluable. On November 23, the capitulation of Finck, one of the Prussian generals, at Maxen with 12,000 soldiers, brought to a close a year which had proved so brilliant for England, so disastrous for France and Prussia.

Meanwhile in India the English successes were as great as those in the far West, and the end of the French dominion in India was at hand. To explain the state of affairs in that country, we must for a moment go back to the period of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The great contest between England and France for the control of the destinies of India had begun in real earnest during the Austrian Succession War. In the last chapter we saw how Dupleix, who became Governor of Pondicherry in 1741, determined upon the expulsion of the English from India and the establishment of the French influence at the native

The battles of
Minden, Aug.
1, and Kuners-
dorf, Aug. 13,
1759.

England and
France in
India.

INDIA.

1755-80.

The five Mahratta Powers
are underlined.



courts. Till 1748 the struggle in India had continued, but the French successes were rendered nugatory and the designs of Dupleix were ruined by the superiority of the English fleet. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had caused the mutual restitution of conquests, and Dupleix was left to endeavour by intrigues at the native courts to carry out his vast political schemes. So successful was his intervention in a struggle between rival claimants for the thrones of the Deccan and the Carnatic, that in 1751 the permanent establishment of French influence in Southern India seemed inevitable.

At this moment a young officer named Robert Clive, the first great man whom England sent to the East, saved the English prestige by the capture and defence of Arcot, and then with the aid of Major Laurence relieved Trichinopoly, which was besieged by a French force. In December, 1753, Dupleix' troops were again defeated, and the following year he was recalled by the directors of the French East India Company, who, themselves alarmed at his constant interference with the commercial prospects of the company, were supported by their government, which dreaded the outbreak of hostilities with England.

In 1756 the renewal of war between the two countries in Europe found Clive in India prepared to destroy the French power as a preliminary step to the advance of British influence. In 1758 the arrival of Lally with French reinforcements was followed by the capture of Fort St. David and the siege of Madras. The appearance of an English fleet caused the siege to be abandoned, and the French reputation suffered a severe blow. Meanwhile the English had established their hold upon Bengal. In August, 1756, as we have already mentioned, Suraj-ud-Dauleh had captured the English factory, and issued the order which led to the horrors of the "Black Hole". Calcutta was easily recovered, and peace was made with the Nawab. But, irritated by Clive's capture of the French settlement of Chandernagore, the Nawab renewed

The rise of
Clive and the
defence of
Arcot.

India on the
outbreak of
the Seven
Years' War.

hostilities, and Clive resolved to oust him from his throne, and replace him by a ruler more subservient to the British. At the battle of Plassey he was totally defeated, some of his principal officers, as a result of an intrigue set on foot by Clive, remaining passive, or even turning their arms against him. He fled from the field, and was murdered a few days later. Meer Jaffier, the creature of the English, was proclaimed Nawab in his stead, and Clive became all-powerful in Bengal.

The years 1759 and 1760 ended the Anglo-French contest for Indian supremacy. In February, 1759, the siege of Madras had been raised, and the same year saw the destruction of French influence at Hyderabad, and the defeat of a Dutch attempt at intervention. It only required the battle of Wandewash, won by Eyre Coote on January 22, 1760, and the capture of Pondicherry, the chief French settlement, to deal a final blow to all attempts by European rivals to interfere with the expansion of the English power in India.

Supremacy
of the English
in India.

^ In Europe the war dragged on its course in spite of efforts to bring about peace. In August and November, 1760, Frederick the Great had won the victories of Liegnitz and Torgau over the Austrians, and the last pitched battle of the war had been fought. Ferdinand of Brunswick had continued his useful work of checking all attempts of the French to harass the Prussian king, and his success at Warburg proved of great value to the Anglo-Prussian cause. The year 1761 was marked by the failure of renewed attempts to bring about peace, by the exhaustion of the combatants in Germany, by the fall of Pitt, and by a last attempt of Louis XV.'s minister Choiseul to restore the French fortunes by negotiating an alliance with the Bourbons of Spain.

The close of
the war in
Europe.

On August 15 France and Spain signed the famous Family Compact, with the object of dealing a severe blow at the commercial prosperity of England and Portugal. Though this treaty was kept secret Pitt suspected its exis-

tence, and urged an immediate attack on Spain. Unfortunately, George II. had died on October 25, 1760, and his successor, George III., was influenced by his favourite, Lord Bute, a Scottish peer of no political insight or knowledge. He refused to support Pitt's vigorous suggestion, and the great minister resigned on October 5, 1761. In May, 1762, Newcastle followed Pitt's example, Bute became chief minister, and was joined by George Grenville, the Duke of Bedford, and Henry Fox. With the full concurrence of his colleagues Bute determined to end the war as soon as possible. He had, however, in the previous January been forced to enter upon hostilities with Spain, which suffered for its temerity in a most unexpected fashion. While France, in February, 1762, lost Martinique, Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, a Spanish invasion of Portugal was checked by 8000 English and Hanoverian troops under General Burgoyne, and Havannah, the key of the Spanish West Indian possessions, with Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, passed into the possession of England.

Meanwhile the changes in the English ministry had proved serious for Frederick the Great, for Bute, desirous of abandoning all continental connections and involved in a new war with Spain, had, in April, refused to renew the annual subsidy to Prussia. This decision in no way imperilled the safety of the Prussian kingdom, for the death of the Tzarina Elizabeth on January 5, 1762, had relieved Frederick from all fear of annihilation. The new Tzar, Peter III., at once made an alliance with him, and the hopes entertained by Maria Theresa for the recovery of Silésia were dashed to the ground. On Peter III.'s deposition in July, his successor, Catherine II., made no attempt to renew the Austrian alliance, and Frederick was enabled to drive the Hapsburg forces out of Silesia.

All the great powers were now ready for peace, and on February 5, 1763, Prussia and Austria made the Treaty of Hubertsburg, on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*,

The Family
Compact of
1761.

Fall of Pitt,
Oct. 5, 1761.

Bute ceases
to subsidize
Frederick the
Great.

so that all the blood of the Seven Years' War had been shed to no effect, and hardly an acre in Germany changed hands. Though Prussia was exhausted, Frederick had every reason to be satisfied with the results of the war. He continued, however, to regard England with bitter resentment. Though the English government was justified in withdrawing the subsidy to Prussia, Bute had in January, 1762, entered into secret negotiations with Maria Theresa, which Frederick believed were directed against himself. For the rest of his life he opposed England on every possible occasion.

The Peace of
Hubertsburg,
Feb. 5, 1763.

England had additional cause of complaint against Bute, who had not only alienated a valuable ally, but, in his haste to make peace, had deprived England of advantages due to her successful efforts. The prolongation of the war had been in great measure the work of Pitt, who desired to destroy the commercial greatness of France. Like Louis XIV. in the Spanish Succession War, Choiseul had made several attempts to induce the English government to accept adequate terms. Bute, then, was perfectly justified in abandoning the schemes of Pitt, which were based upon the mercantile theory that "the commercial interests of different nations were necessarily antagonistic". But, like Harley and Bolingbroke in 1712-13, Bute allowed party motives to influence his conduct, and his haste to conclude peace rendered him in an extraordinary manner blind to the true interests of England. He restored Goree, Guadeloupe and St. Lucia to France, he gave up the Philippines to Spain, and was with difficulty prevented from returning Havannah without compensation.

Bute's peace
policy.

Though the Peace of Paris, which was signed with France and Spain on February 5, 1763, "was extremely advantageous to England, there was", writes Mr. Lecky, "hardly a clause in it which was not below what she might reasonably have expected."¹

The Peace of
Paris, Feb. 5,
1763.

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. 47.

England retained from France Canada, Cape Breton, with the West Indian isles of St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, Grenada and the Grenadines, and the African colony of Senegal. From Spain she received back Minorca, and acquired Florida with some adjoining territory, as well as the right to cut logwood in Honduras Bay. She also obtained a promise of half a million sterling to be paid by the Spanish government in consideration of an arrangement made when Manilla was captured. This "Manilla Ransom", as it was called, was never paid. France thus recovered Belleisle, lost in 1761, Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadeloupe, Goree, and her Indian establishments, and Spain received Havannah and Manilla, obtaining from France Louisiana in compensation for Florida.

The Peace of Paris made England supreme in America, and removed all possibility of competition on the part of any European power in India. The ascend-
England and the Peace of Paris. ancy of England on the sea was also secured. During the war her navy had systematically blockaded the French ports, with the result that France found herself unable to assist her American colonies.

English ships adopted throughout the Seven Years' War offensive tactics, sought for the enemy and endeavoured to force battles. The complete mastery of the sea which Great Britain enjoyed in the later phases of the struggle attested the wisdom of this policy, while France, having lost her colonies, and seen her navy destroyed and her armies defeated, was unable to offer any adequate resistance to her triumphant foe.

Much of England's success was due to Pitt. He had checked party spirit, he had brought Parliament for the
England's debt to Pitt. time into harmony with the people, he had roused the higher enthusiasms of the nation. In place of selfishness, corruption, and effeminacy was found patriotism, courage, and enterprise, and the arming of the Jacobite clans and the establishment of the militia attest the confidence which he universally inspired. With little or no parliamentary influence, he had by his

popularity and abilities become the leading man in England, he had raised the moral tone of public life, he had infused a new energy into Englishmen.

Political materialism became a thing of the past, and the attitude of public opinion towards corruption was sensibly altered. Magnanimity and disinterestedness on his own part roused administrative energy among his subordinates, while his skill in choosing the right men for carrying out his policy won the admiration of his contemporaries.

Though the Peace of Paris was in many points deserving of censure, and though it was not received by the nation with enthusiasm, England had gained by it more than by any previous treaty. The foundations of the Empire laid. The foundations of her empire were firmly laid, and her supremacy at sea was unquestioned. It was fortunate that Pitt's work was so well done, for a period of inaction and petty domestic strife was to follow. The next ten years in England's history were almost entirely occupied in a struggle between the new king and the Whigs.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., 1760-1770.

George III. succeeded his grandfather on October 25, 1760. He was at that time twenty-two years old, and had, under the superintendence of his mother and Lord Bute, received a very bad education. The character and aims of George III. His domestic virtues tended throughout his long reign to endear him to the mass of Englishmen, and compared favourably with the drunkenness and dissolute habits then prevalent among the upper classes. Religious, temperate, extremely anxious to do his duty, George, unlike his father and grandfather, was attached to England, spoke English well, and prided himself on being every

inch an Englishman. Strength of purpose and goodness of intention were marked characteristics of the young king. In his public capacity George III. is a noteworthy figure in English history, owing to his not unsuccessful attempts to make his personal influence felt in the administration of the country. Deeply imbued with the principles inculcated in Bolingbroke's *Patriot King*, he had formed an exalted idea of his own prerogative and was determined to win back for the crown something of its former influence and authority in the government. He had been taught that a sovereign should, like Frederick the Great, take an active part in public affairs. He had been trained to regard the Whigs as usurpers of his lawful authority, and he hoped, by abolishing party connections and party government, to become the actual ruler of England. His schemes were directed towards the establishment "of a system of personal rule under which all the threads of the administration should centre in the royal closet". He was ready to undertake the task of overturning the great Whig party by a lavish expenditure of public money, by the use of places and pensions, and by the creation of a band of men, known as the King's Friends, who were always at hand to vote according to his bidding.

For this task George, in spite of his ignorance, narrow-mindedness, and short-sightedness, was not unfitted. His confidence in himself, his patience, his laborious attention to details, his activity and devotion to business made him a formidable foe in his long struggle with the Whigs, and to some extent account for his victory. He thus set out with the intention of securing certain objects—the revival of the Prerogative, the right to choose his own ministers, the destruction of government by party, the overthrow of the Whig oligarchy. After ten years of desperate conflict George to a great extent obtained his desires. In Lord North he found a minister after his own heart, he had for the time being broken up parties, he had beaten the Whigs hip and thigh, he had insti-

His general
aims.

His opposi-
tion to the
Whigs.

His success
in 1770.

tuted departmental government in place of the cabinet system—the growth of which Walpole had so carefully fostered. In 1770 “there was great danger”, says Mr. Lecky, “that the crown would regain all, or nearly all, the power it had lost at the Revolution”.¹ The causes of George III.’s success in his struggle with the Whigs are not hard to seek. His English tastes, his youth, and his personal character threw public opinion on his side in his contest with men, many of whom, like Henry Fox and Shelburne, were not remarkable for the possession of lofty principles. The Tory party, too, enthusiastically supported him. That party, hitherto identified with Jacobitism, had since 1714 remained in opposition. Upon the death of George II., however, they gathered round the young sovereign, declaring that he ought to choose his own ministers, that he ought to exercise the royal prerogatives, and that, in a word, he not only ought to reign but to rule. Another circumstance that aided George was the fact that the House of Commons did not represent England—the nation had little or no influence upon the formation of a ministry. Parliament was amenable to corrupt influence, and during the early years of George III.’s reign parliamentary corruption was greater than under Walpole.

The Whig party moreover had, in 1760, split into several small groups or sections, and the task of carrying out the royal policy was thus considerably facilitated. Ever since the Whig schism of 1717 intrigues and jealousies, though appeased for a time by Henry Pelham, had threatened to break up the unity of the party. The main body of the Whigs, the direct descendants of the revolutionary families of 1688, the party which had in Walpole, Pelham, and Newcastle its recognized leaders, was now headed by Lord Rockingham, a man of high character and conciliatory manners. His party, proof against corrupt influence, included the Dukes of Devonshire, Portland, and Richmond, Lord John Cavendish, General Conway, Burke, Dowdeswell, and

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. p. 226.

Saville, and most of the great families. "If I have wandered out of the paths of rectitude into those of an interested faction", was Burke's proud boast, "it was in company with the Savilles, the Dowdeswells, the Wentworths, the Bentincks." These Whigs were opposed to the Stamp Act and to the injudicious proceedings against Wilkes; they believed in government by party. The weakness of these men lay in their aristocratic tendencies, their want of energy and business qualities, and their indifference to public opinion. The people had no sympathy with them, the king was bitterly hostile to their views and pretensions. From this, the main body of the Whigs, Pitt held aloof, and soon gathered round him a number of men who formed later what was known as the Chatham Faction. Lords Temple and Shelburne, with Dunning, Barré, and Alderman Beckford, were Pitt's chief supporters, and, like him, held views distinctly popular. They were opposed to the court influence and corruption, they upheld measures of reform, they distrusted the oligarchic tendencies of the Rockingham Whigs, they were opposed to the system of party government, they were hostile to American taxation, and they supported Wilkes against the arbitrary proceedings of Parliament. There were two other Whig sections, headed respectively by George Grenville and the Duke of Bedford, who, like Pitt and his supporters, had separated from the official Whig party. Lords Halifax, Egremont, Suffolk, and for a time Shelburne, were allied with Grenville, while Bedford's best-known supporters were Lords Sandwich, Weymouth, Gower, and Richard Rigby. The followers of both Grenville and Bedford were amenable to corrupt influence; they advocated the taxation of America and severe measures against Wilkes; they had no popular sympathies. Before ten years were over many of them had passed to the Tory camp.

With the Whig party thus broken up, the field was ready for the exercise of George III.'s electioneer-opportunity. ing skill, for his system of scrutinizing the lists of votes in Parliament, for his bribery at elections, and

for the creation of places and pensions as rewards for political services.

The fall of Pitt and the supremacy of Bute had been followed by a well-organized attack on the Whigs. The Duke of Devonshire was removed from the post of chamberlain, and Newcastle and Rockingham from their lord-lieutenancies, while even custom-house officers and tax-gatherers who had been appointed by the late government were also dismissed. The first step in the overthrow of the Whigs and the establishment of the Tories in power had been taken. Suddenly, in April, 1763, Bute resigned, and his coalition ministry came to an end. The Peace of Paris had been very unpopular; the budget, which included a tax on cider, had roused opposition, especially in the western counties. Moreover, Bute was hated as being a native of Scotland, as having been the cause of the fall of Pitt, and as having shown a singular want of administrative ability. The first attempt of the king to direct the government of the country had proved a failure. Instead of giving the country a strong government, independent of the intrigues of the court and of faction, and resting on the support of the country, George III. had endeavoured to support Bute by an unprecedented exercise of corrupt influence and intimidation. It was not till 1770 that, with Lord North as his minister, George regained the influence which he enjoyed on his accession; it was not till the Revolutionary wars that he recovered his early popularity.

Bute was succeeded by George Grenville, who formed an administration which Lord Macaulay has described as "on the whole the worst which has governed England since the Revolution". It included Lords Egremont and Halifax as Secretaries of State, Shelburne as President of the Board of Trade, and Sandwich. In September, on the retirement of Shelburne, Bedford and his followers joined the ministry, Bedford becoming President of the Council, while Sandwich succeeded Egremont, who had lately died, as Secretary of State.

The fall of
Bute. 1763.

The Grenville
ministry.
1763-1765.

On November 15 Parliament met, and soon plunged into two long disputes, the one of secondary, the other of primary importance. Of these the first was its contest with John Wilkes, the member for Aylesbury, and author of an attack on the king's speech in No. 45 of a newspaper called the *North Briton*, of which he was editor. Wilkes was a clever, unscrupulous politician, with a great talent for posing as a martyr and a champion of popular liberties. In April, 1763, the Secretaries of State issued a general warrant (*i.e.* a warrant not specifying the names of the persons to be arrested) against the authors, printers, and publishers of No. 45, and Wilkes was confined to the Tower and his papers seized. In May he was discharged on the ground that, being a member of Parliament, his arrest was illegal, and in July Chief-justice Pratt decided (1) that warrants to search for, seize, and carry away papers on a charge of libel were illegal, and (2) that general warrants were illegal. Wilkes thereupon took the offensive; he prosecuted Halifax, and Wood, the Under-secretary for State, and eventually obtained £1000 damages from the latter.

The House of Commons meanwhile was resolved to ruin Wilkes, and in December, 1763, voted No. 45 a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. In the House of Lords an effusion styled an *Essay on Woman*—a parody on Pope's *Essay on Man*—mainly written by Potter, son of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but ascribed to Wilkes, was brought forward. The peers voted the poem a breach of privilege, and a scandalous, obscene, and impious libel. Both Houses were thus united in opposition to Wilkes, and a resolution was accepted "that privilege of Parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels".

Wilkes had now become a popular hero, and represented the wide-spread dissatisfaction at a venal House of Commons which in no sense represented the nation. A riot followed the attempt to burn No. 45 by the common hangman.

In 1764 Wilkes retired to Paris, and refused to appear either in the House of Commons or in the Court of King's Bench, to answer for reprinting No. 45, and for printing the parody on the *Essay on Man*. On January 19, 1764, he was expelled from the House of Commons, and on February 21 the Court of King's Bench outlawed him for non-appearance. Temple, Pitt, and Rockingham supported the cause of Wilkes on broad grounds, while Grenville, having embroiled Parliament and the people, and having provoked the spirit of disaffection, now proceeded to propose the first of the measures which led to the loss of the American colonies.

After the Peace of Paris England had ceased to be a small European country, and had become an Imperial power, while the thirteen North American colonies, freed from all danger from France and Spain by the expulsion of the French from Canada and of the Spaniards from Florida, were ready to adopt an independent tone towards the mother-country. At the same time, had a statesman been at the head of affairs in England, no serious outbreak of hostility with the colonists need have been feared. The colonies were jealous of each other; there was no community of sentiment between the Northern and Southern States; there was no serious opposition to England, whose commercial policy under Walpole and his successors had been to connive at American smuggling, which was carried on openly with the West India Islands and the Spanish colonies in America.

The question
of American
taxation.

Grenville, unfortunately, neither continued the *laissez-faire* policy of Walpole nor realized that colonies did not exist wholly for the use of the mother-country. With his legal and narrow mind he determined to check the smuggling, and sent English men-of-war to enforce rules which had become obsolete. He also resolved to keep up a standing army of 10,000 men in America, to defend the colonies against the Indians, and to check any attempt by France to regain Canada. For the support of this force, the maintenance of which met

Grenville's
policy.

with great opposition from the colonists, he decided to raise in America about one-third part of the expense of the new army.¹ Though parliament had the right to tax the colonies for their own defence, it was undoubtedly impolitic and inexpedient to exercise it. But Grenville, blind to all consequences, prepared in 1764 a series of enactments stopping the use of paper money in America, and laying duties on various articles for the benefit of the mother-country. To these measures was added in 1765 the Stamp Act,² a Stamp Act² which, as being an inland tax, provoked outspoken hostility on the part of the Americans, who made a distinction between the levying of customs and the imposition of an inland tax. Pitt being ill, the opposition of Conway and Barré to the Stamp Act excited little attention in England, but in America, important results followed the passing of the measure. A congress of representatives of nine of the colonies met at New York and drew up a petition opposing the act, riots took place, and independence was spoken of in a Boston journal.

But before the disastrous consequences of Grenville's action were appreciated in England and the attitude of the colonists understood, the ministry had fallen. At first sight it would appear that the existing administration held an almost impregnable position. Grenville's accession to office had been sanctioned by Bute, and had saved the king from the necessity of appealing to the official Whig party. In his policy with regard to America and to Wilkes, the minister was in full agreement with his sovereign.

But George III. had early conceived a dislike for Grenville. The latter's obstinacy and inflexibility of temper, coupled with his tediousness and prolixity, came as a surprise to the king, who found he had provided himself with a master instead of a willing tool. Bedford, on account of his domineering,

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. 314.

² i.e. an act requiring certain legal and other documents to receive government stamps of varying values, without which they were to be invalid. The sums imposed were much the same as those required for similar documents in England.

overbearing manners, and Sandwich were no less objects of the king's dislike. His final rupture with them was due to their conduct in the matter of the Regency Bill of 1765. George being seriously indisposed, the ministers introduced a bill which limited the Regency, in case of the illness of the king, to the queen or descendants of the late king and queen, tacitly excluding George's mother, the Dowager Princess of Wales. The Commons voted for the introduction of her name, and the king, furious with Grenville and Bedford for what he considered an insult to his mother, decided to bring about their fall. Against the opposition of the king Grenville had little defence to offer. He could not obtain the adhesion of Pitt and his followers, he could not rely on popular support. Equally hated by court and people, the Grenville ministry came to an end in July, 1765.

The Regency Bill, 1765.

After vainly attempting to induce Pitt or Lord Lyttelton to form a ministry, George was compelled to fall back on the official Whigs, and Lord Rockingham became Prime Minister. In this government the great families were fully represented, and as these "old Whigs" refused to advance with the times, they alienated the more liberal members of their own connection. For a year Rockingham held office, and did his utmost to remedy the mistakes of his predecessor. General warrants were declared illegal, the Stamp Act, which had been very badly received by the colonists, was repealed, and America was for a time pacified. At the same time a Declaratory Act was passed which asserted England's right to tax America, but Rockingham made no endeavour to put theory into practice.

The first Rockingham ministry, 1765-6.

During the debate on American taxation Pitt had asserted that England had no right to tax the colonies, for "taxation and representation should go together". Though Grenville could show that Pitt's account of the theory of taxation was inadequate, it remained true that the American colonies, owing to their distance from England, were in

The question of America's taxation.

a very different position from the unrepresented manufacturing towns of Great Britain. And the wretched state of the representative system in England was itself no argument in favour of the unstatesmanlike though legal action of Grenville. In spite of the fact that it had recognized the inexpediency of taxing America, the new ministry failed to secure the support either of George III. or of Pitt.

While the king and the King's Friends were opposed to Rockingham's conciliatory policy at home and abroad, Pitt objected strongly to the Declaratory Act. Henceforward the Whig party, though outwardly reconciled for a short time in 1782, was permanently divided into a less liberal and a more liberal branch.

Notwithstanding the beneficial character of its measures, the Rockingham ministry only lasted a year and two months. The king had always been opposed to the Whigs, and some individual members of the government, such as the Duke of Devonshire and Conway, were especially distasteful to him. He disagreed entirely with Rockingham's policy, and openly intrigued against it. The government was weak, and Rockingham did not prove a strong Prime Minister; neither he, Conway, nor Dowdeswell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were effective debaters, while Grafton, Northington the Chancellor, Barrington the Secretary at War, and Townshend, were not loyal adherents of the ministry. The death, in October, 1765, of the Duke of Cumberland, the most powerful of Rockingham's supporters, followed by the resignation of Grafton in May 1766, proved overwhelming blows to a government which had no popular basis. Without the adhesion of Pitt no ministry could hope to exist for any length of time. The people had full confidence in Pitt, and they demanded that he should be called to the head of affairs. A strong government, secure from royal intrigues, resting "on an undisputed parliamentary ascendancy and undisturbed by faction", had become a necessity. A coalition between Pitt and Rockingham

The fall of the Rockingham ministry, 1766.

The influence of Pitt.

would have given the country the requisite strong government. Pitt's party, as in 1757, was wanting in influence and connection, while Rockingham's party lacked popular support. But though the two leaders agreed in their opposition to the measures against Wilkes and to the Stamp Act, Pitt, being convinced that England had no right to tax America, refused to accept the Declaratory Act. He was, moreover, suspicious of the Whigs, not recognizing that Rockingham's followers were men of different character from the supporters of Newcastle. The Whigs were strong supporters of the system of party government, while Pitt and the king, from different motives, desired its abolition. In spite of Rockingham's conciliatory attitude, Pitt refused his co-operation, and in July, 1766, the ministry fell.

The new government was formed under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Grafton, the First Lord of the Treasury, though Pitt's influence was paramount. The ministry was composed of men ^{The Grafton-Pitt ministry.} chosen from all sections, thus exemplifying Pitt's dislike of the system of party government. But though supported by George and the King's Friends, who now received several posts of importance, it was weak from the moment of its birth. Townshend became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, Northington President of the Council, Lord North Joint-Paymaster of the Forces, Barrington Secretary at War, Barré Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and Shelburne and Conway Secretaries of State.

Though his incoherent ministry proved incapable of any statesmanlike measures, Pitt attempted to render England secure from all danger from the French and Spanish Bourbons, who were ^{Chatham's home and foreign policy.} closely allied by the Family Compact. He proposed that England, Russia, and Prussia should form a great northern league which should check the designs of France and Spain. But though England and Russia remained on friendly terms till 1788, Frederick the Great, still furious at Bute's treatment of him, refused the alliance.

Pitt's foreign policy thus failed, and his schemes for the better government of Ireland and India were not carried out owing to his illness in March 1767, followed by his practical retirement from the ministry. On accepting the office of Lord Privy Seal he had become Lord Chatham, and had thereby at once lost much of his popularity. His illness was still more serious, for, left without a capable leader, the ministry abandoned its liberal programme, and adopted impolitic measures with regard to America and to Wilkes. Chatham's practical retirement had left the ministry without coherence or any settled policy. Disputes, too, between the ministers themselves led to considerable changes, which weakened the government, and brought about its fall. In 1767, Charles Townshend and Shelburne quarrelled over Indian and American affairs. The former thought that the East India Company should be allowed to raise a territorial revenue, while the latter, in agreement with Chatham, declared that the Company's income should be derived from trade profits only. On American matters the divergence of views was even greater. The land tax had been reduced from four to three shillings, and Townshend insisted on making up the loss in revenue by imposing customs duties on the importation of tea, glass, paper, and other articles into America, and on oil, wine, and fruit if coming direct from Spain or Portugal. On September 4 Townshend died, and was succeeded as Chancellor of the Exchequer by Lord North; shortly afterwards Northington and Conway resigned. Instead of reversing Townshend's American policy, Grafton, who had some of the qualities of a statesman, formed a coalition with the reactionary Bedford Whigs, of whom Sandwich, Weymouth, and Gower entered the ministry. The year 1768 saw a general election in March, the resignation of Shelburne and Chatham in October, the continuance of Townshend's policy to the colonists and the adoption of vindictive measures with regard to Wilkes, who had returned from France, and

Illness of
Chatham,
1767.

Policy of
Townshend.

Changes in
the ministry.

been elected member for the county of Middlesex. On April 27 he surrendered to the Court of King's Bench, and remained in prison till June 8, when Lord Mansfield declared his outlawry to be illegal, and he was released. On June 8 he received sentence for his libels, and was condemned to imprisonment for twenty-two months, and to pay £1000. During his first imprisonment a mob, which had assembled round his prison, had been, by order of Lord Weymouth, the Secretary of State, fired upon by a Scottish regiment, and Wilkes had sent to the *St. James's Chronicle* a copy of Weymouth's letter to the magistrates with a few remarks of his own, in which he stigmatized the action of the soldiers as a "bloody massacre".

A great struggle now began between the king, supported by Parliament, and Wilkes. George III. was resolved on the expulsion of Wilkes, who did all in his power to increase the popular indignation. Though Grafton was in favour of moderation, the Commons, assuming the functions of a law court, voted the remarks prefaced by Wilkes to Weymouth's letter a libel, and on February 3, 1769, expelled him from Parliament for having written No. 45 and the *Essay on Woman*, and also for his attack on the Secretary of State. The conduct of the Commons was unjust, oppressive, and vindictive. Wilkes found supporters in the great orator Edmund Burke, then not far from the commencement of his parliamentary career, and in Grenville, who recognized that he had been expelled for "accumulative crimes". The letters of the bitter satirist¹ who hid himself under the name of Junius, kept appearing all through the year 1769, and castigated the ministers with unsurpassed virulence. Wilkes was at once recognized as the representative of all the discontent against the governmental system. A grave constitutional struggle began, and Wilkes, from a mere demagogue, became the upholder of the rights of constituencies to choose their

¹ This clever but virulent writer was probably Philip Francis, afterwards known as the enemy of Warren Hastings.

own representatives. Three times was Wilkes elected, and three times the Commons declared him incapable of sitting in the Parliament. After his third election, when he obtained 1143 votes, Colonel Luttrell, who only secured 296, was awarded the seat by a vote of the House of Commons in spite of the remonstrances of the Rockingham, Grenville, and Chatham Whigs.

The unconstitutional action of the House of Commons and the struggle with Wilkes had important results. English Radicalism first came into being, and made itself visible in the form of meetings and political associations. The feeling in favour of Parliamentary reform increased in intensity. In 1766, and again in 1770, Chatham stood forward as the advocate of reform of Parliament, and attempts continued to be made to bring about changes, until the French Revolution checked the feeling in favour of reform. The Middlesex election had stimulated interest among all classes in public affairs, and had brought into prominent relief the weakness of the Grafton ministry.

The government had adopted a line of policy at variance with the views held by Chatham, its founder and former chief. France had been allowed to seize Corsica, the American colonists had been again roused against the home government, the corruption of Parliament had increased, the attack on Wilkes had been most impolitic. Shelburne had been driven out of the ministry, the weakness and disorganization of which gave George III. an admirable opportunity for exercising his influence with effect. The ministry, opposed not only by the king but also by the Rockingham and Chatham Whigs, and weakened by internal dissensions, could not hope to remain in power.

On January 28, 1770, Grafton resigned, and George III., taking advantage of the indecision of the Opposition, appointed Lord North Prime Minister. It has been said that the Grafton ministry made Wilkes famous, and the House of Commons hateful. What was more serious, it had brought about a renewal

The result of
the Middlesex
election.

The
weakness of
the ministry.

Its fall.

of the discontent in America, and it had enabled George III. to choose his own minister.

CHAPTER VI.

LORD NORTH AND THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, 1770-1782.

After his arduous struggle with the Whigs from 1760 to 1770 George had won a signal victory. He had revived the royal prerogative, he had broken up parties, he had chosen his own ministers. Lord North in power.

Lord North possessed "great ability, great parliamentary tact, uniform good-humour, and no firmness". He allowed his wide experience to be controlled by the narrower judgment and stronger will of George III.; and in spite of his extensive general knowledge and strong understanding he yielded everything to the intense, eager, petty incisiveness of his sovereign. From 1770 to 1782 George III. assumed in large measure the personal direction of affairs; he interfered with the machinery of Parliament, he used bribery Influence of George III. freely, he won over members of the House of Commons by the bestowal of places and pensions, he reinforced his supporters by the introduction of the new class of Indian Nabobs.¹ In place of cabinet government George adopted what is called the departmental system. The ministers no longer acted in a body, under the presidency of the Premier, but each head of a department looked to the king for instructions. Though devoted to Lord North, George III. insisted on interfering in foreign, colonial, and domestic matters, and generally in taking a leading share in the government of the country.

Various circumstances united to strengthen the new ministry and to disorganize the opposition. The death

¹ The wealthy returned Anglo-Indians were so called in jest, on account of the Oriental habits and manners that they had assimilated.

in June, 1770, of the Lord Mayor Beckford, a friend of Chatham, was followed in October and November by the deaths of Lord Granby and George Grenville, though not before the latter had carried an important bill to take away the cognizance of questions regarding disputed elections from the whole House of Commons, and to give it to a select committee. In 1771 Lord Temple, one of Chatham's leading supporters, retired into private life. The ministry, supported by Charles James Fox, the able son of Henry Fox, as Lord of the Admiralty, was joined by Lord Suffolk, who became Foreign Minister, Grafton, who became Privy Seal, Wedderburn, who took the post of Solicitor-General, and most of the Bedford party.

Between 1770 and the outbreak of the American war in 1775 important events took place in England and on the Continent. In 1770 the immunity of servants of members of Parliament from arrest was abolished, and attempts were made to amend the law of libel. In 1771 the right of the newspapers to report the debates in Parliament was practically conceded. Owing in no small measure to the determination of Wilkes, then an Alderman of the city, the Commons had failed in their attempts to punish certain printers for reporting debates, and henceforward reports of the proceedings in Parliament were tacitly permitted. The press had won a victory of momentous importance.

In 1772 the Royal Marriage Act, preventing members of the royal family from marrying without the Sovereign's permission, was passed, and led to the resignation of Charles James Fox, who, however, shortly afterwards became a Commissioner of the Treasury and was not finally dismissed from the government till February, 1774.

Indian, no less than purely domestic affairs, also demanded a share of the attention of the government. A war between the East India Company and Hyder Ali, a clever Mohammedan adventurer who had made himself Sultan of Mysore, began in 1767

and concluded in 1769. This costly struggle against the first able native prince with whom the East India Company had to deal, shook the whole fabric of Indian government, and the Directors found bankruptcy imminent. The ministers, supported by public opinion, were convinced that a commercial company was unable to govern a great country successfully, and in 1773 the "Regulating Act" was passed. By it the government of India was virtually placed in the hands of the ministers of the Crown, and Warren Hastings was created the first Governor-General.

The same year saw the acquittal of Clive from charges of violence and rapacity during his second governorship in Bengal, followed in 1774 by his melancholy death by his own hand. Though bred a civilian he became a general second only to Marlborough, and he had founded our Indian empire. The resolution of the House of Commons declaring that Robert Clive had rendered great and meritorious service to his country expressed the general feeling towards the distinguished administrator.

The early years of the North ministry were not destitute of foreign complications. In 1770 England found herself on the verge of a war with France and Spain. Since 1763 England had to a great extent retired from active participation in European affairs. Her friendship with Russia, unbroken even during the Seven Years' War, still continued, and English officers had contributed to the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Tchesmè in 1770. In agreement with the Tsarina Catherine II. England had no difficulty in preserving uncontested her commercial supremacy in the Baltic. In the Levant, English and French interests continued to clash, while disputes between England and Spain over the "Manilla Ransom",¹ which still remained unpaid, and over the Falkland Islands, seemed likely to lead to a war for which both French and Spanish ministers had been long preparing. Choiseul, who was determined to

Death of
Clive. 1774.

The affair of
the Falkland
Islands.

¹ See page 56.

avenge the losses incurred in the Seven Years' War, had reorganized the French army and navy, had encouraged colonization, and had preserved close relations with Spain, while Grimaldi, the Spanish minister, fully recognized the importance of the Family Compact of 1761. England, occupied with domestic affairs, had not taken any action in 1768 when France had annexed Corsica, but in 1770 the conduct of Spain almost provoked the outbreak of war.

In 1766 the Falkland Islands had been occupied by a British force, which in June, 1770, had been expelled by the Spaniards. Choiseul was ready to aid Spain, but Louis XV. and his advisers had no wish to engage in hostilities with England. Choiseul was dismissed in December, 1770, and with his fall all danger of war disappeared. Spain, unable to secure French assistance, agreed to restore the English garrison, and England remained in possession of the Falkland Islands.

During these years important events were taking place in the North and East of Europe. In the East the first partition of Poland took place in 1772, and English statesmen, favouring a close connection with Russia, regarded that event with indifference. In the North, Gustavus III. of Sweden carried out, on August 19, 1772, a revolution which checked Russian influence, restored the monarchical constitution, and averted the partition of his kingdom. The English government discountenanced any interference on the part of Russia in Swedish affairs, and threw all its influence in favour of peace and the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Baltic.

Already events were occurring in America which may explain if they do not justify England's inaction with regard to that "vast national crime", the partition of Poland. Charles Townshend's imposition of new duties on the colonies had been followed by a growing spirit of insurrection in America, which was accentuated by the so-called "Boston Massacre" of March 1770, when a small party of soldiers fired in self-defence

The Partition
of Poland and
the Swedish
Revolution,
1772.

The American
question.

on an American mob and killed two or three rioters. North, on his accession to office, adopted conciliatory measures and repealed all taxes except that on tea. The American troubles ceased for a time, till two events destroyed all hope of a peaceful solution. The first was the publication of some private letters of Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts, in which he advised the government to use stern measures against the colonists. The second was a bill empowering the India Company to export some seventeen millions of pounds of tea to America practically free from duty. As the East India Company was closely connected with the English government, and as the consignees in Boston included two sons of Hutchinson, the colonists at once conspired to prevent the tea being landed. On December 16, 1773, three English ships laden with tea were boarded in Boston Harbour, and their contents thrown into the sea, by a riotous crowd disguised as Red Indians. The local authorities showing no readiness to punish this riot, the government, supported by public opinion in England, replied by closing the harbour of Boston, by remodelling the charter of Massachusetts, and by altering the regulations for the administration of justice, so that a man accused of treason in America had to be brought to England to be tried. This coercive policy was accompanied by the "Quebec Act" for regulating the civil and religious condition of Canada—a measure which had the double effect of preserving the loyalty of the Canadians and of still further alienating the American colonists, who were indignant at the toleration allowed to the Roman Catholics of the Northern colony. Virginia took the lead in supporting Boston, and on September 5, 1774, the delegates of twelve colonies—Georgia alone being unrepresented—met in Congress at Philadelphia. In April 1775 open war broke out. General Gage, who commanded the garrison of Boston, sent out a party to seize a store of arms which the assembly of Massachusetts was collecting at Concord. The troops

The Massachusetts Acts,
1774.

Opening of
hostilities,
1775.

were fired on at Lexington by the local militia, but they succeeded in effecting their purpose with but little loss. On their return march, however, they were continually harassed by skilful skirmishers, and lost nearly three hundred men before they succeeded in fighting their way through.

The news that blood had been shed roused the colonists. They began to call out and arm great bodies of volunteers. A second Congress met on May 10, 1775, refused a conciliatory offer made by Lord North, and set to work to organize the war. Georgia now joined the other colonies, and George Washington was appointed commander-in-chief. The Americans sent an army to blockade Boston, and on June 17 the battle of Bunker's Hill was fought. The colonists made a gallant stand behind their entrenchments on Breed's Hill, but after defeating two attacks of the regular troops were eventually put to flight, the English losing 1054 men. The Americans, however, continued to maintain the rest of their positions in front of Boston.

Then followed an invasion of Canada and an attempt to storm Quebec on the part of the Americans. It, however, failed, and the Canadians remained loyal to England. The energy and ability of Washington, and the dilatoriness of Gage, who was in October, 1775, succeeded by General Howe, proved disastrous to the English. Boston was lost, and Howe returned to Halifax in March, 1776. On July 4 the thirteen colonies issued the Declaration of Independence; a new nation had arisen, and the war entered upon a fresh phase. Howe, on receiving reinforcements, occupied Long Island, took New York, and on August 27 defeated the Americans in the battle of Brooklyn. It was only due to his want of vigour that the victory had not more important results. As it was, he occupied the Jerseys, and part of the state of New York with little difficulty. The conduct, however, of the English government in hiring German mercenaries had embittered the struggle and rendered an attempt at conciliation on the part of

The
Declaration
of Independ-
ence,
July 4, 1776.

Lord North fruitless. The year 1777 opened with the recovery of New Jersey by Washington, who had held Philadelphia during the winter. But Howe, having formed an elaborate plan for a combined movement from New York and Canada, made a successful expedition to Philadelphia, defeating Washington on October 4 in the battle of the Brandywine. While the main British army was thus withdrawn to Philadelphia the English cause suffered a serious disaster elsewhere. General Burgoyne was ordered to march from Canada to New York down the valley of the Hudson, with 5000 men, and to effect a junction with General Clinton. But Clinton failed to meet him, and he was, after much hard fighting, surrounded by 15,000 Americans under General Gates, and forced to surrender at Saratoga [Oct. 17, 1777].

The
Surrender
at Saratoga.

This disaster to the English arms proved the turning-point in the war. In 1776 Congress determined to seek a French alliance, their envoy Silas Deane reached Paris in June, and before the end of 1777 some 3 million francs had been given to the Americans, and men and stores secretly sent out. Hitherto Vergennes, the French foreign minister, had hesitated to make a definite alliance, a step which must lead to open war with England. No sooner, however, had the news of Saratoga reached Paris than a treaty with the colonists was drawn up (on February 6), America was recognized as an independent state, and the opening of 1778 found England and France at war. England was face to face with a tremendous crisis, and the war now entered upon a new and serious phase. The opposition clamoured for a recognition of American independence, the Duke of Richmond proposed that peace should be made with the colonists, and the country demanded that Chatham should be Prime Minister. Though ill, Chatham appeared to oppose Richmond's motion. He held that America should be conciliated without granting independence, and that France should be crushed. The excitement attendant on making his

England and
France at
war. 1778.

speech proved too much for his strength, and on May 11, 1778, he died. Congress refused to accept North's offers of conciliation and the war was continued.

The Chatham party, headed by Lord Shelburne, now drew near to the Rockingham Whigs, advocated parliamentary reform, and in 1780, backed by petitions from Westminster and Yorkshire, attempted to improve the state of parliamentary representation and to abolish many sinecure offices and other channels of bribery. On April 8, 1780, Dunning, a member of the Rockingham party, carried the resolution "that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished". The same year the Duke of Richmond brought forward a Reform Bill to establish manhood suffrage, annual elections, and equal electoral districts. But the Commons had no intention of acting on Dunning's proposal, and the outbreak of the Gordon riots diverted their minds from all questions of reform.

In 1778 Sir George Saville, a Rockingham Whig, had carried a measure for the alleviation of the penal laws against Roman Catholics. In Scotland an attempt to introduce a similar measure roused great dissatisfaction, which spread to England, where a Protestant League was formed under the leadership of Lord George Gordon, a hot-headed and half-crazy fanatic. The presentation of a petition against Saville's measure was followed by the outbreak of riots, and for three days, owing to the lack of an efficient force of watchmen, London was in the hands of a mob, who burnt Catholic chapels and sacked private houses. In this crisis George III. showed conspicuous coolness and courage. His firmness and decision saved London, and the soldiers crushed the insurrection.

Abroad, the position of England had become serious. After some gleams of success at the close of 1778, the English cause received another blow by the declaration of war on the part of Spain in April 1779, followed in 1780 by the formation of

The tactics of the opposition after Chatham's death.

The Gordon Riots, 1780.

Position of England in 1780.

the "Armed Neutrality" of the Northern Powers, under the leadership of Catherine II. The siege of Gibraltar was begun in July 1780, and in December England was forced to declare war against Holland. "The aspect of affairs at the close of 1780 might indeed well have appalled an English statesman. Great Britain lay exposed to the attacks of France, Spain, and the Dutch, and was viewed with hostility by Northern Europe. At the same time in Hindostan, Hyder Ali was desolating the Carnatic and menacing Madras; and in Ireland the connection was strained to its utmost limit."¹ In the latter country the Irish, smarting from years of oppression, made demands reasonable in themselves, but Difficulties in Ireland. opposed to the narrow commercial views then held by English politicians. Volunteer corps nominally raised to resist French invasion, but really to overawe the government, sprang up all over Ireland, and their existence influenced the decisions of the Irish Parliament. Led by Henry Grattan, the National party in 1779 demanded free-trade, and in 1780 Lord North, taught by the course of affairs in America, acknowledged the commercial equality of Ireland, and granted the Irish the right of free export for their chief commodities.

Though surrounded by difficulties at home, the North ministry continued to struggle against France and Spain, and to carry on the war in America. On Continuance of the war in America. July 27, 1778, the first naval battle of the war had been fought without any definite result. The strength of the naval forces of France was recognized, and the importance to the colonists of the French alliance was at once seen. Men and money were sent from France. A fleet under D'Estaing sailed to America, and New York was only saved by the skill of Lord Howe, the English admiral. Being foiled at all points D'Estaing then sailed to the West Indies, where he captured Grenada. Having failed to take Savannah he sailed to France in October, 1779, leaving the Southern States to their fate. In spite of the want of union among the Americans, their jealousy

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. p. 163.

of their allies, their selfishness, and the growing impotence of Congress, the colonial cause owed its success to the French alliance. Till Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, however, the English arms held their own in America. In June, 1778, Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, evacuated Philadelphia and withdrew to New York. Instead of attacking Washington, Clinton resolved to lead an expedition to recover Georgia and the Carolinas. On May 12, 1780, he took Charleston, and in June returned to New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis with 4000 men to continue the war in the South. Cornwallis defeated the Americans in the open field, and tried to organize the loyalists of Carolina into an auxiliary force. But his army was too small for the task. By the end of 1780 the British held, besides New York, only South Carolina and Georgia.

About this time the English hoped to make some profit from the discontent of General Arnold, one of Washington's chief subordinates, who held command of several important posts near the mouth of the Hudson. He was deeply in debt, he disliked the French alliance, and, irritated by accusations against his personal

Arnold's
treachery,
1780.

integrity, determined to satisfy his ambition, cupidity, and desire for revenge by forming a plot against the American cause. He opened negotiations with Clinton, who intrusted the correspondence to Major André, the adjutant-general of the army at New York. Arnold proposed to hand over West Point on the Hudson to the English, and André, while carrying on the negotiations, was seized by some militiamen, and after a court-martial was hanged by Washington's orders as a spy.

The Surrender
of Yorktown,
1781.

In the Carolinas Cornwallis defeated Gates at Camden in 1780. But next year his campaign in Virginia turned out badly; the French were superior on the sea, and Clinton's defensive tactics left Cornwallis without any assistance. The latter, in attempting to march northward towards New York, was hemmed in by the French under Rochambeau and the Americans under Green. He dropped down to York-

town on the Virginian coast, hoping to secure the co-operation of the English fleet. But instead of friendly vessels a French squadron appeared and blocked his escape by sea. On October 18, 1781, he was compelled to surrender. If the sea had been a secure basis of operations, Cornwallis's position would have been impregnable; but the English had lost the command of the sea owing to the superiority of the French fleet under De Grasse.

The causes of the American success are not hard to seek. The strength of the revolutionary movement had been underestimated in England, and when the real meaning of the war was understood, there was no general wish to continue it.

Reasons for
the American
success.

Moreover, the English commanders were incapable, while Washington, by his patience and endurance and his military skill, proved more than a match for his opponents. The French alliance proved the turning-point in the fortunes of the war, for without the French aid the American resistance would have been in vain. The British were in 1781 outnumbered on sea, the operations in the Channel and the Mediterranean required a large number of ships, and no naval assistance could be given to Cornwallis.

The surrender at Yorktown virtually ended the war as far as America was concerned, and the year 1782 found England fighting against France, Spain, and Holland for her hold on the seas. The three-years' siege of Gibraltar culminated in a grand joint attack by the Spaniards and French in 1782. Hotly assailed for four days by sea and land, the governor, Sir George Elliot, made a spirited and aggressive defence, and effectually repulsed the attack; and the arrival soon afterwards of Lord Howe's fleet destroyed all Spanish hopes of recovering the fortress. The losses suffered by the Dutch during the war dealt an almost fatal blow to the power of the Republic, and by the close of 1782 all the belligerents were ready for peace.

But the ministry which had begun the war with America was not destined to see its close. During the early portion of the war the majority of the nation supported the

king and North in a policy of coercion to America. The opposition, disunited and factious, had still further weakened their position by seceding in November, 1776, from the House of Commons. Till 1780 the government remained fairly strong owing to the unpatriotic action of the opposition, the death of Chatham, and the Gordon riots.

From 1780, however, public opinion declared itself against the continuance of the war with America, and in favour of concentrating all the resources of England upon the struggle with France and Spain. The opposition, now united, began to gain popularity by attacking the corrupt expenditure of the government. Dunning's motion had shaken the ministry, and the news of the surrender of Yorktown, which reached England on November 25, 1781, two days before the opening of Parliament, was the immediate cause of the overthrow of the ministry. Public meetings in London and Westminster were held, several members of the government joined the opposition, the cabinet was disunited, and on March 20, 1782, Lord North resigned.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ROCKINGHAM, SHELBURNE, AND COALITION MINISTRIES, 1782-1783.

The fall of Lord North implied the fall of the system of government which George III. had during the last twenty-two years so laboriously built up. He was again forced to admit the Whigs to power, and Lord Rockingham, as the recognized chief of the main body of the party, was called upon to form his second administration. It included not only Rockingham's followers but also several of the members of the Chatham section, as well as Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor in the late ministry. While Rockingham be-

The second
Rockingham
ministry.

came First Lord of the Treasury, Fox was made Secretary of State for the Foreign, and Shelburne for the Home and Colonial Departments; the other places of importance in the ministry were filled by members of the great Whig connection, such as the Duke of Grafton, the Duke of Richmond, Lord John Cavendish, Lord Camden, Dunning, and Marshal Conway. Edmund Burke was made Paymaster of the Forces without a seat in the Cabinet. Though the ministry thus formed by a coalition of Whigs of various opinions was from the first weak and divided, it at once attempted to carry out a definite policy—peace with America, parliamentary and economical reforms, and satisfaction to Ireland.

The demand of Ireland for legislative independence could not be refused, and the statute of George I. which asserted the right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland was repealed. For Legislative independence for Ireland. the next twenty-eight years the Irish enjoyed practical Home Rule; but it was Home Rule in the interests of the Protestant minority, for the Catholics were not permitted to sit as members, or even to vote as electors.

Though the efforts of Chatham's son, the young William Pitt, to commit the Whig party to a policy of parliamentary reform were defeated, some important Economical reforms. economical reforms were carried out. They were due in great measure to the influence of Burke. One bill excluded persons holding government contracts from the House of Commons, another disfranchised revenue officers, while a third diminished the secret service money and cut down the pension list. By these measures English political life was rendered purer; but as the ministry had undertaken to carry out more drastic reforms, and as, while professing to put down the use of the public money for party purposes, they gave large pensions to some of their own associates—Lord Grantham, the Chancellor, and Colonel Barré,—their popularity was not increased. Internal divisions raged within the Cabinet, and the rejection of Pitt's motion for a committee to

inquire into the state of the parliamentary representation seemed to show that the main object of the Whigs was rather to limit the royal power than to benefit the nation at large.

In foreign affairs the dissensions in the Cabinet were even more marked. Like Chatham, Fox desired to unite Russia, Prussia, and England in a defensive league, while Shelburne wished to revert to Walpole's policy and to form an alliance with France. Fox, moreover, wished to recognize the independence of America without any delay, while Shelburne, supported by the king, desired to include the recognition of American independence among the terms of peace between England and France. The French, believing that England's power was utterly shattered—which was far from being the case,—made exorbitant demands, and negotiations were still hanging fire when, on July 1, Rockingham died, leaving his Cabinet hopelessly divided between the parties of Shelburne and Fox.

The second Rockingham ministry had only lasted fifteen weeks, but it has a great importance in English history. The departmental government which the king had instituted came absolutely to an end, and a return was made to the cabinet system. The legislative independence of Ireland had been granted, the independence of America was agreed to, and measures had been taken to check illegitimate influence in Parliament and the constituencies. The sobering effects of the American war were already being felt. Personal bribery of members of Parliament ceases, the tone of political life becomes more elevated, England's responsibilities in India begin to be recognized, the tone of debate in both Houses is improved.

On Rockingham's death Shelburne was made Prime Minister and the Rockingham party broke up, for Fox and Cavendish left the Cabinet. The young William Pitt, though only twenty-three years of age, replaced the latter as Chancellor of the Exche-

Fox and Shelburne differ over foreign affairs.

The importance of the second Rockingham ministry.

Shelburne's ministry.

quer, while the duties of Fox as Secretary of the Home and Colonial Department were given to Thomas Townshend. The retirement of the Duke of Portland, Burke, Sheridan, and others necessitated certain changes, and on July 11 Parliament was prorogued till December. The new Prime Minister was one of the ablest and at the same time one of the most unpopular men of the day. Closely connected politically with Chatham, he had advocated parliamentary and economical reforms and religious liberty, and had opposed the policy adopted by the majority of the Whigs towards Wilkes and the colonists. He was one of the earliest of English free-traders, was an admirable debater, and was ever in favour of friendship with France. But he was suspicious, insincere, and untrustworthy, very jealous of his colleagues, at one time arrogant, at another obsequious. He was almost universally distrusted and disliked, and never secured the confidence of those about him.

The principal work of the Shelburne ministry was the continuance of the peace negotiations with France. The haughty tone adopted by the French in the spring was sensibly modified by two important incidents. On April 12 Rodney had won a great victory near Dominica over the fleet of De Grasse, by which he saved Jamaica and put an end to the French domination at sea. In September the last great effort of the combined French and Spanish forces to capture Gibraltar had failed. On November 30, 1782, preliminaries of peace with the United States were signed; on January 20, 1783, terms were arrived at which France and Spain accepted, while about the same time a truce was made with Holland.

Peace negotiations with France.

The independence of the thirteen revolted colonies was recognized, and a new boundary line was drawn between Canada and "the United States of North America". Spain regained Minorca, retained West Florida and secured East Florida, restoring, however, the Bahama Isles, and recognizing the English right to cut logwood in Honduras Bay, the

The Peace of Versailles. 1783.

region which forms the present colony of British Honduras. France gained considerable advantages. In India she recovered her establishments in the Carnatic, and Bengal, Pondicherry, Carical, Chandernagore, and the Fort of Mahé, as well as Surat; in Africa, Senegal and Goree. In the West Indies she obtained St. Lucia and Tobago, while England kept her hold on Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat. France also obtained the right of fortifying the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland. England thus emerged from the great war with her prestige diminished and the American colonies lost. It was generally believed in Europe that her decadence had set in.

Though a continuance of the war would probably not have bettered England's position, the peace was unpopular. Dissensions had also broken out in the

Fall of Shelburne. Feb. 24, 1783.

Cabinet, and in January 1783 Keppel, Lord Carlisle, and the Duke of Grafton left the government. Then followed an astonishing political combination: Fox, the chief of the Whig opposition, and Lord North, the head of the late Tory ministry, agreed to act together, and on February 22 they carried, by 207 to 190, a resolution censuring the terms of peace. On the 24th Shelburne resigned.

From February 24 till April 2 there was no settled government, the king being furious at the alliance of Fox and North. At length, however, he had to yield: the Duke of Portland was placed at the head of the Treasury, and the famous Coalition government was formed. Fox and North were the Secretaries of State, the other offices being filled by the members of the official Whig party, while Burke became again Paymaster of the Forces without a seat in the Cabinet. This coalition was defended on the ground that a strong united administration was needed, that the coalition of Pitt and Newcastle in 1757 had been successful, and that the responsible ministers of the Crown ought to have full control over affairs. Be that as it may, the

The Coalition ministry under Portland. 1783.

close alliance between two statesmen who had been bitterly opposed during the American war, and had always denounced each other's doings in the strongest terms, shocked the country, and ultimately ruined the Whig party. To Burke's influence the alliance has been attributed, and he certainly was a strong advocate of a united independent administration.

The coalition has been described as a profligate one, "not so much because it violated political principle, for none of these factions had much political principle to violate, as because it violated personal honour", and though the ministry had great parliamentary strength it fell before the end of the year.

The new government at once refused a series of resolutions in favour of reform brought forward by Pitt. Instead of undertaking internal reform, it devoted itself to the affairs of the East India Company. Fox's India Bill.

The war with Hyder Ali had thrown the Company's finances into hopeless confusion, the directors had retained Warren Hastings as Governor-general in spite of an order from the Rockingham ministry to recall him, and the magnitude of the abuses in the government of India was universally recognized. Dundas had already introduced an India Bill, and now Fox determined to bring forward a measure which should change the constitution of the Company. The main authority was to be given to seven commissioners nominated by the Legislature and holding office for four years, after which period the nomination was to rest with the king, who also had the power of filling up vacancies. A subordinate body of nine chosen by Parliament from the largest proprietors of the Company's stock were to manage the details of commerce. The Bill was fiercely attacked, on the ground that it violated the Company's charter, and that it tended to vest the patronage of India in a small permanent body of Whigs.

Taking advantage of the unpopularity of the measure, George III. now made a desperate attempt to reassert

himself. He gave Lord Temple a paper, in which it was stated that: "Whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his (the king's) friend, but would be considered by him as an enemy; and if these words were not strong enough, Earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger and more to the purpose". His emissary placed the document before many of the peers, and the effect of this unconstitutional action on the part of George III. was that on December 17 the House of Lords rejected the India Bill by a majority of nineteen votes. The next day the king dismissed Fox and North, and the following morning the remaining ministers. Pitt, now in his 24th year, was at once made Prime Minister, and a government including Thurlow, Gower, Carmarthen, and Lord Howe was formed. Parliament separated on December 26, and met again on January 12, 1784.

Till March 24 a struggle of great vehemence raged in Parliament. Pitt was in a hopeless minority, with Fox, North, Burke, and Sheridan opposed to him. His position seemed desperate, and the Whigs were confident that their administration would shortly be re-established. But the opposition made a fatal blunder in resisting an immediate dissolution, and enabled popular feeling to declare itself in favour of Pitt, to whom the delay thus proved of great advantage. The violence of the language of Fox about the Crown alarmed people, and the factious and vindictive conduct of the opposition ruined their cause. The political reputation of Fox had suffered from his coalition with North, and public opinion was gradually roused by the courageous conduct of the youthful Pitt in resisting the hated Whigs. Loyal addresses began to pour in to the king, the majority against the government declined to one, and on March 24 the premier ventured to dissolve Parliament.

The opposition had alienated the allegiance of both Whigs and Tories; the coalition of Fox and North had seemed to be the result of a corrupt desire for place and

power, and the India Bill an attempt to weaken the position of the king. Pitt's opponents had endeavoured to make the House of Commons independent of both king and people, and this unconstitutional attempt was repudiated by the country at large. The Nonconformists joined the king's friends, the East India Company, and the propertied classes in a movement in favour of Pitt, which received the support of men like Wilkes, the Duke of Richmond, and the supporters of parliamentary reform. At the general election, 1784, the opposition was shattered, and Pitt found himself at the head of an enormous majority. With the exception of a short period of office in 1806, the Whig party had no share in the government of the country till the time of the Reform Bill of 1832. George III. after a struggle of two years was again triumphant.

The triumph
of Pitt and
George III.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE YOUNGER PITT'S HOME AND FOREIGN POLICY, 1784-1792.

Though George III. had triumphed over the Coalition, his victory in 1784 differed widely from that of 1770. In the latter year Lord North's accession to office had implied the temporary establishment of departmental government and the continued assertion of the king's own influence upon the conduct of affairs. The triumph of Pitt, however, was not merely the triumph of the king; it was essentially the victory of the people. The popularity of George III. was, it is true, enormously increased, but the principal result of the overthrow of the Coalition was the final establishment of the system of government by Party ministries. The old system of a divided Cabinet and of the influence of the "king's friends" came to an end. Pitt insisted on maintaining absolute authority over his col-

The meaning
of Pitt's vic-
tory.

leagues, and the Cabinet became a homogeneous body under the direction of the Prime Minister.

Pitt had fought "one of the most desperate parliamentary battles in English history, and he had totally defeated an opposition consisting of the majority of the House of Commons, and directed by a group of statesmen and orators of the very highest eminence".¹ He was now at the head of a government which was supported by a large section of both parties in the State, and he was regarded by the king as the only barrier against Whig ascendancy. He thus wielded an independent authority which, in spite of the efforts of Lord Thurlow, whom he dismissed from the chancellorship in 1792 for showing insubordination, remained practically undisputed.

The young minister occupied a unique position. Barely twenty-five years old, his ascendancy in the Cabinet and in Parliament was unquestioned, and at the same time he enjoyed great popular support as well as the confidence of the king. He was a skilled orator and a great debater, his integrity was undoubted, his political courage was unrivalled. But though careless, almost to ostentation, both of titles and honours and of wealth, he was dominated by an "extreme avârice of power" and an exaggerated pride. Possessed of great self-control, of extreme self-reliance, of indomitable resolution, and of moderation of judgment, Pitt was admirably qualified to lead the House of Commons and to control and direct the energies of England, especially in times of difficulty. He was an able finance minister, he was a consummate leader of men, he was the greatest of English parliamentary leaders, but "he was a politician and nothing more".

With his ascendancy the moral tone of public life was raised, and direct parliamentary corruption completely died out. Though he was not a great war minister the strength and popularity of his ministry impressed foreign rulers and rendered them willing to co-operate with England. He was the only member of the Cabinet in the House of Commons, and held the two

Pitt's character.

The situation in 1784.

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v. p. 4.

offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lords Carmarthen and Sydney were the Secretaries of State, and the other offices were filled by such men as Gower, Camden, Richmond, and Thurlow. In Grenville and Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Liverpool, he found useful subordinates, but for many years Dundas, the Treasurer of the Navy, was the only man in the Lower House on whom he could depend. Like Walpole, he remained sole and supreme minister. Deeply permeated by loyalty to the king, and by a desire to check corruption and to initiate reforming measures, Pitt, during the years preceding the French war, has been aptly described as a Tory minister carrying out a Liberal programme. He found England of little account abroad and in a state of depression at home, with a large deficit, a national debt of £200,000,000, and Consols at 60. There was some apparent ground for the belief current on the Continent that England's decadence had set in.

Before Pitt lay the task of raising his country from the exhaustion of the late war, of repairing her finance, of strengthening by a wise Indian and Irish policy the bonds of the empire, and, if possible, of rescuing her from her perilous position of isolation. Owing to the sudden increase of wealth from our Eastern Empire in India, and owing to the industrial revolution then developing at home, the American war failed to ruin England. Within five years from his accession to office the wealth of the country had increased enormously, and Pitt could show a prosperous balance sheet. Ever since the Revolution of 1688 the population had been increasing, and between 1750 and 1780 at the rate of 400,000 a year. England had become intersected by canals, and the roads had been vastly improved. During these years England, from an agricultural, became a manufacturing country, and owing to the discovery that iron could be worked as well with pit-coal as with charcoal, the weight of the population was transferred from the south to the north of England, where coal and iron lie side by side. The expansion of the iron industry was

followed by the discoveries of Watt, Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton. While Watt improved the steam-engine, Hargreaves invented the *spinning-jenny* and Arkwright the *spinning-frame*; and Crompton, combining the good features of both inventions, produced his famous *mule-jenny*. The development of manufactures spread to all parts of the coal-producing districts, and was followed by great economic changes. Population increased, agriculture was improved, and new ground was taken into cultivation. This development of agriculture and manufactures brought prosperity to the manufacturing and land-holding classes, and the national wealth rapidly increased.

At a time when England was feeling the effects of this mighty impulse given to the employment of industry, Pitt's knowledge of finance and political economy was most valuable, though he never realized the importance of the social problems arising from the development of the factory system.

The years from 1784 to 1788 form a period of active legislation and of great prosperity. India, Ireland, parliamentary reform, the finances, the slave-trade
 Legislative activity. The India Bill. The all presented problems calling for immediate attention. In August 1784 Pitt passed his India Bill, establishing a Board of Control, which formed part of the ministry, to manage the political affairs of the Company. The appointment of the commander-in-chief and the higher officials was subject to the veto of the Crown, but with these exceptions the whole patronage was left in the hands of the Company, in whose name all business' was carried on.

For Ireland Pitt proposed a scheme for granting complete free trade with England. The strength of the selfish commercial opposition, supported by
 Pitt's Irish policy. Fox and Burke for party purposes, proved, however, too strong for the minister. The mercantile classes inveighed against the measure, and its details were considerably altered. So much indeed was it modified

that the Irish Parliament finally threw it out, and refused to accept the mutilated scheme.

Pitt's attempt in 1785 to carry a Bill for Parliamentary Reform was equally unsuccessful. "He proposed to purchase from the present proprietors of thirty-six decayed boroughs the right of returning their members, and to give the seventy-two seats thus at his disposal to the more populous counties and to London and Westminster." The Bill was rejected by a majority of seventy-four. Henceforward Pitt laid aside the question of parliamentary reform, though the sudden appearance of "new agglomerations of population", the result of the increase of manufacturing industry, made the anomalies of the representative system grow more glaring year by year.

Failure of
Pitt's Reform
Bill.

Though the government had failed to carry its Irish and reform measures, the success of its financial schemes was marked. The finances of the country in 1784 were in extreme confusion, but in a few years Pitt placed them on a sound basis. He funded the unfunded debt; by the Commutation Bill he reduced the duty on tea. By the Hovering Act, and by the adoption in 1786 of Walpole's excise scheme, smuggling was checked. Measures were carried out for purifying English administration. For all loans he accepted the lowest tender by public competition, thus dealing a heavy blow at parliamentary corruption. In 1787 he consolidated the different branches of the customs and excise, and gradually diminished the numerous sinecures attached to the Custom House, while about the same time he produced his plan of a Sinking Fund. Alarmed at the increase of the national debt, he had in 1786 begun to take steps to apply a sum annually to the redemption of the debt. The system of the Sinking Fund was thus established, and was maintained, even during the French war, till 1807, when it was virtually abandoned.

Pitt's finan-
cial reforms.

The Sinking
Fund.

The Commercial Treaty of 1786 with France was probably one of the most valuable of Pitt's legislative

acts. The treaty practically established free trade between the two countries. Pitt was of opinion that England and France were fitted by nature for friendly connection, and Vergennes, the French minister, was equally anxious for the treaty. The opposition objected to the arrangement on the ground that commercially England would lose more than she would gain, and further, that France was England's most serious rival in the Mediterranean and the Levant. "France", said Fox, "is the natural political enemy of Great Britain." The commercial classes, however, accepted the treaty, and it continued in force till the war of the French Revolution.

The year 1788 was an important epoch in Pitt's ministry as well as in the history of England. It saw the beginning of the trial of Warren Hastings, the formation of the famous Triple Alliance, and the debate on the Regency question.

Warren Hastings had returned from India in June 1785, and shortly afterwards was attacked by Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, who were stirred up to the assault by the late Governor-general's vindictive enemy Philip Francis. There were three chief charges pressed against him: he had lent British troops to our ally the Nawab of Oude, to enable the latter to conquer a predatory tribe named the Rohillas, who dwelt on the northern boundary of the Nawab's dominions. He had imposed an enormous fine on a vassal prince, the Rajah of Benares, who had been culpably remiss in paying his tribute during the war with Tippoo. Lastly, he had allowed the Nawab of Oude, who had promised to contribute to the expenses of that war, to obtain the money that he needed by plundering the Begums his own mother and grandmother, who had hitherto been placed under British protection. If the Whig leaders had hoped to bring odium on the government, under the idea that the ministry would defend Hastings, they must have been disappointed. Pitt thought that the Rajah and the Begums had been harshly treated, and supported the counts which charged

The Commercial Treaty with France.
1786.

Trial of Hastings.

Hastings with wronging them. In 1787 the Governor-general was impeached, and in February 1788 his trial before the House of Lords began. Public feeling, however, soon declared itself in favour of the great Indian administrator. Within three years Burke withdrew sixteen of the original charges, and public interest in the proceedings gradually died away. On April 23, 1795, Hastings was acquitted; but the inordinate length and expense of the trial had lessened his fortune and embittered his declining years.

In November the king, after a fit of insanity extending over some months, was declared incapable of governing. In December, however, a committee expressed a hope of his recovery, and a regency was deemed desirable. Fox claimed that "the heir-apparent had an inherent right to assume the reins of government", while Pitt defended the right of Parliament to settle the matter. A few days later the Duke of York in the House of Lords declared on behalf of the Prince of Wales, that *his Royal Highness understood too well the sacred principles which seated the House of Brunswick on the throne of Great Britain, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, that was not derived from the will of the people expressed by their representatives and their Lordships in Parliament assembled.*

The elective character of the English monarchy recognized.

Pitt finally produced a Bill nominating the Prince of Wales Regent under very stringent conditions. Before, however, the Bill was passed the king recovered, and Pitt's position became more unassailable than ever. The period from 1788 to the outbreak of the war with France, though not characterized by any great financial acts, found Pitt supporting measures for the abolition of the slave-trade and the relief of Roman Catholics, and carrying his Canada Bill of 1791, by which the colonists received a liberal grant for self-government. Fox's Libel Act was also passed during this period, which has been styled "one of almost competing liberalism". The outbreak of the

Pitt's measures from 1788 to 1792.

French Revolution in no way checked Pitt's reforming tendencies, and even as late as February 1792 he repealed taxes, added to the Sinking Fund, and reduced the previous vote for seamen by 2000 men.

England's position, both political and industrial, had developed during these years with extraordinary rapidity.

Pitt's strong position in 1792. The revenue had advanced by leaps and bounds, and most of the financial measures of the last few years had proved singularly efficacious. In 1792 Consols stood at 96. Not only in the House of Commons was Pitt supreme. The House of Lords, largely increased by new creations, had lost its Whig character and become a Tory chamber.

Though England's rapid recovery after the American war was in part due to the industrial revolution, Pitt's vigorous foreign policy had in great measure contributed to the preservation of peace. **Pitt's foreign policy. 1784-92.** England's position in 1784 only confirmed his natural inclination to avoid foreign entanglements, to adopt a policy of non-intervention, and to keep at peace.

None the less the aggressive policy of Catherine II. of Russia and of the Emperor Joseph II., allied since 1781, seemed likely to disturb the tranquillity of Europe. Both these sovereigns had taken advantage of the occupation of the western Powers in the American war to advance their own interests. **The aggressive policy of Catherine II. and Joseph II.** While Joseph had in 1781 driven the Dutch garrisons out of the Barrier fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, Catherine had, without any declaration of war, seized the Crimea. Vergennes had indeed hoped for the co-operation of England in opposing the policy of Russia in Eastern Europe, but Fox, who in 1783 directed the foreign policy of the Coalition ministry, was, like Chatham, an advocate of a league of England, Prussia, and Russia.

The annexation of the Crimea. 1784. Turkey was forced to recognize the loss of the Crimea by the Treaty of Constantinople in 1784, and the Coalition government must share the responsibility for the further weakening of the Turkish empire.

Joseph II. was equally determined to advance Austrian interests in the west. In 1784 he revived a claim on Maestricht, and declared the navigation of the Scheldt open. Though Holland had opposed England during the American war, the two countries were equally interested in resisting Joseph's policy. But in Holland the anti-English party was in the ascendant, and Vergennes seized the opportunity of establishing French influence in that country on a stable basis. He opposed Joseph's pretensions, and eventually French mediation brought about the Treaty of Fontainebleau in November 1785, between Joseph and the Dutch. It was fol-
 lowed two days later by a close alliance between France and Holland; England's prestige had suffered, and the policy pursued since 1701 of keeping up a Barrier on the frontier of the Austrian Netherlands against French aggression had now failed. England was isolated in Europe, and the Austrian Netherlands lay defenceless. In the words of Mr. Lecky: "One of her (England's) oldest and closest allies, one of the chief maritime powers of the world, had thus detached herself from the English connection, thrown her influence into the scale of France, and virtually become a party of the Bourbon Family Compact".¹ The triumphant "patriot" party in Holland proceeded in 1786 to deprive William V., Prince of Orange, of the office of Captain-general, and considered the possibility of removing him from the office of Stadtholder. In vain Sir James Harris, our envoy at the Hague, laboured to preserve the cause of the house of Orange. French influence remained supreme, and the Commercial Treaty of 1786 between England and France exemplified Pitt's pacific intentions.

Joseph II. tears up the Barrier Treaty and declares the Scheldt open.

French intervention on behalf of Holland, 1784-85.

England's isolation.

On August, 17, 1786, Frederick the Great died, and the accession of Frederick William II. changed the aspect of affairs. His sister was the wife of the Stadtholder, and the Prussian king at once took a lively interest in

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v. p. 78.
 (M 251)

Dutch affairs. The death of Vergennes on February 13, 1787, removed the one Frenchman who would have resisted foreign interference in Holland. In May, Pitt determined to aid the Stadtholder of Orange was arrested by the insurgents, Frederick William II. decided to act. Prussian troops marched into Holland, Pitt made warlike preparations, and the outbreak of hostilities between England and France was only averted by the pacific assurances of Montmorin, Vergennes' incapable successor.

The efforts of Sir James Harris were crowned with success: England was no longer isolated, the French influence in Holland was overthrown, and the Stadtholder's power was restored. In 1788 England, Prussia, and Holland formed the Triple Alliance, for "preserving the public tranquillity and security, for maintaining their common interests, and for their mutual defence and guarantee against every hostile attack".

The Triple Alliance of 1788 was not formed one moment too soon. War between Turkey and Russia had broken out in the autumn of 1787, and at the beginning of 1788 Joseph II. had thrown in his lot with Catherine II. Turkey lay exposed to the simultaneous attacks of Russia and Austria. To Gustavus III., King of Sweden, a successful war on the part of Russia against Turkey would bring serious danger, for Catherine had set envious eyes for many years on his kingdom. It was but natural therefore that Sweden and Russia came into collision in July, 1788. Gustavus' plans were foiled and the independence of Sweden was endangered. But the members of the Triple Alliance at once intervened, and all danger of the Baltic becoming a Russian lake passed away.¹

The allies, finding Russia more bent than ever on the destruction of Turkey, next endeavoured to bring about

¹Gustavus had planned an attack on Russia. But his fleet was defeated, and Denmark attacked Sweden. The Triple Alliance forced the Danes to withdraw.

peace between Joseph II. and the Porte. The efforts of Pitt in this direction were, however, hampered by the ambitious designs of his ally, Frederick William II., who was determined to take advantage of Austria's weakness. He intended to compel her to restore Galicia to Poland, to obtain Danzig and Thorn for himself, and to support the Austrian Netherlands in their revolt against the Emperor. From this difficult situation the death of Joseph II. in February 1790 and the skill of Pitt provided an escape. Pitt's object in forming the Triple Alliance had been to consolidate the peace of Europe; and he therefore urged pacific counsels upon the King of Prussia. The accession of the statesmanlike Leopold to the imperial throne aided his efforts. The new emperor at once secured the support of England and Holland by intimating his readiness to adopt conciliatory measures towards his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, and his anxiety to make peace with Turkey. After many complications Prussia and Austria signed the Convention of Reichenbach, tranquillity was restored in the Austrian Netherlands, Austria made the Treaty of Sistova with Turkey, and the peace policy of Pitt had triumphed. Sweden had made the Treaty of Verela with Catherine II. in 1790, and of the European Powers Russia and Turkey alone remained at war. Though the position and interests of England and Prussia were widely different, the two Powers with Holland had undertaken the pacification of Europe, and so far with an unlooked-for amount of success.

The Austro-Turkish war, and the revolt of the Austrian Netherlands.

The year 1790 afforded a further test of the stability of the Triple Alliance. In 1789 Spanish officers had seized an English ship at Nootka Sound in Vancouver Island, and had destroyed an English settlement there. On Pitt demanding reparation, Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister, asserted a claim to the whole west of America, and demanded the assistance of France under the terms of the Family Compact of 1761. Pitt at once prepared a fleet, and the King of Prussia recognized his obligation to support England.

The affair of Nootka Sound. 1790.

At first it seemed that France would carry out the terms of the Family Compact, and a great European war was imminent. At this crisis Pitt sent Hugh Elliot, a skilful diplomatist, and William Augustus Miles to Paris to influence Mirabeau, the chairman of the Diplomatic Committee, and the leading democratic deputies. This mission was successful, and Spain, finding that France would not come to her assistance, and impressed by Pitt's warlike preparations, withdrew her claims, made ample reparation, and concluded in November 1790 a treaty with England. England had won a diplomatic victory, the loyalty of the Prussian alliance had been proved, and the alliance between France and Spain had been weakened.

Far different was the result of an endeavour on the part of Pitt to induce Russia to consent to the restoration of Ochákov to the Turks, a matter which the The affairs of Ochákov. 1791. Prussian king, the Duke of Leeds, Pitt's foreign minister, and indeed Pitt himself, regarded as of European interest. Russia and Turkey were still at war, and in his attempt to intervene between the two Powers to bring about peace and the restoration of Ochákov to the Porte, Pitt met with his first failure in foreign politics. English statesmen had just become aware of the importance of the Eastern Question, and Pitt hoped to "form an irresistible barrier against the ambition both of Russia and the House of Bourbon". But Catherine II. would listen neither to persuasion nor to threats, and finding that England was not prepared to follow up diplomatic measures by a resort to war, paid no heed to the protests of the Duke of Leeds, and went on her way unmoved.

Though English policy had succeeded in isolating Russia, the ministry had received a rebuff, and the alliance with Prussia was sensibly weakened. Catherine II. made the peace of Jassy with Turkey on January 9, 1792, on her own terms, and without the intervention of England or Prussia, and the king and ministers of the latter country expressed keen disappointment at the conduct of their ally. Pitt himself acknowledged the defeat of his policy, and the triumph of Russia. The Ochákov incident not only relaxed

the Triple Alliance; it compromised for a time Pitt's reputation at home and abroad. Though he had experienced his first great failure in a long course of triumphs, England's foreign policy during these years had been on the whole successful. The Triple Alliance had saved Sweden, and had maintained the political balance in the Baltic. French ascendancy in Holland had been checked, and the Austrian Netherlands had been rescued from the danger of falling under French influence. Peace between Austria and Turkey had been effected, Austria detached from the Russian alliance, and the close connection between France and Spain broken. Pitt's management of foreign affairs had raised England from the isolation and depression in which he had found her in 1784. He was the first of English ministers to recognize the great influence which the Eastern Question was likely to have on international politics. The policy of Chatham and of the Coalition government was now cast aside, and English statesmen realized the danger of Constantinople falling into the hands of Russia, whose growing strength was a menace to the balance of power. The political development of the country had proceeded apace, and owing to the firm though pacific policy of Pitt, the outbreak of hostilities with France found England not exhausted by wars, and in a position to take abroad a leading part in opposing revolutionary principles.

The political development of England under Pitt.

CHAPTER IX.

ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1789-1802.

In 1789, when Pitt was engrossed in his reforming policy, the storm of revolution suddenly burst upon Europe. Gustavus III. of Sweden effected drastic changes in the Swedish Constitution in the direction of a solid increase of the

The outbreak of the French Revolution.

power of the sovereign. A national party in Poland was busy organizing the destruction of the anarchy which in that unhappy country represented government, and attempting the establishment of a strong hereditary monarchy. In December the Belgians threw off the Austrian yoke and declared their independence; while in France the States-General, summoned after a long period of suspension, had demanded constitutional changes. The discontent in France had gradually deepened since the accession of Louis XV., and was political no less than social. The remains of the old feudal system **France under Louis XVI.** were peculiarly exasperating to the peasant, and the law of 1781, forbidding any *roturier*¹ to hold even the post of sub-lieutenant in the army, accentuated that cleavage between classes (due in great measure to Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV.) which tended to bring upon France untold misery and dislocation. On Louis XVI.'s accession in 1774 an admirable opportunity had presented itself to the king and his ministers for carrying out the necessary changes. But though Louis himself was a benevolent and kind-hearted man, he had no will of his own, was dull of comprehension, and absolutely unfitted to deal with the crisis which had arisen. Though the French successes in the American war threw a transient gleam of popularity over the throne, the Peace of Versailles in 1783 left France financially in a deplorable condition. The writings of Montesquieu, whose ideas were drawn from English sources, had dealt with political and constitutional questions; those of Voltaire had laid bare the corruption and abuses of existing institutions; while those of Rousseau placed before Frenchmen a Utopia in which reason and humanity were supreme and all men free and equal. The example of America had, too, an influence which cannot be exaggerated. Turgot and Necker, who alone were capable of conceiving and executing the required reforms, had been dismissed, and the middle and a portion of the upper class openly advocated revolutionary changes. At length, after a series of

¹ *I.e.* person not of noble blood.

attempts to carry out financial and political reforms, Louis XVI. agreed to summon the States-General, and recalled Necker. The States-General met on May 5, 1789, and the French Revolution began. Owing to the unstatesmanlike conduct of Necker and the incapacity of the king, the conduct of the Revolution was allowed to fall into the hands of extreme men. The Bastille, the old royal fortress which dominated the capital, was stormed by the mob on July 14, and the king was brought a prisoner to Paris in October, while the National or Constituent Assembly slowly drew up a new constitution. On April 1, 1791, Mirabeau, the one man capable of directing the course of affairs, died. In the summer the king, scared at the turn which affairs were taking, attempted to escape from France by stealth. He was detected and brought back ignominiously to Paris. The royal power was now practically extinct.

Meeting of
the States-
General,
May 5, 1789.

Development
of the
Revolution.
1791.

In October the Legislative succeeded the Constituent Assembly; as it was composed entirely of inexperienced men the government of France lost all stability and reputation. The Girondists, who were the dominant party in the Assembly, earnestly desired war, hoping thereby to still further discredit the monarchy and to establish a Republic. Pretexts were not hard to find. The Emperor and the King of Prussia, alarmed at the new developments in France, had, in August, met at Pilnitz, and issued a threatening declaration, while Gustavus III., King of Sweden, was anxious to lead a combined movement against France in the interests not only of the Bourbons but of monarchy in general. Complications with the empire had also arisen over Alsace, in which province certain princes of the empire had rights, and with regard to the French *émigrés* who had found shelter at Coblenz and Worms.

The confer-
ence at
Pilnitz. 1791.

In spite of the efforts of Robespierre and the Jacobins to preserve peace, the Girondists persevered in their aggressive policy, and after the death of the statesmanlike Em-

peror Leopold war was declared against Austria on April 20. The failure of the French arms on the frontier was followed by the overthrow of the monarchy on August 10, and by the horrible "September massacres", when the mob of Paris broke open the prisons and murdered all persons suspected of Royalism. There followed successful efforts on the part of the French to drive back the Austrians and Prussians. The defeat of the Prussians at the battle of Valmy, on September 20, was succeeded by the capture of Spire, Worms, and Mainz, while the invasion of the Austrian Netherlands, and the overthrow of the Austrian forces at Jemappes in November, led to the opening of the Scheldt, and threatened Holland.

France had been successfully defended, her boundaries had been extended, and the triumphant French Republic issued the decree of November 19, promising aid to all nations who revolted against their governments, and the decree of December 15, compelling all territories occupied by the French to accept the new French institutions.

Before the capture of the Bastille the French Revolution attracted little attention in England. The king and ministry were popular, the finances were well managed, the general level of well-being was high. New fields of employment and prosperity had been opened by the developments in agriculture and manufacturing industry, and beyond occasional phases of political discontent there was no sign of any general desire of change.

The fall of the Bastille, however, excited general interest in England, and several democratic societies seized the opportunity of advertising their opinions. Headed by Priestley, an eminent man of science, Dr. Price, a Non-conformist divine, and Lord Stanhope, certain bodies of advanced politicians publicly eulogized the late events in France. In England, however, there was no cleavage between classes and no genuine republicanism, and the influence of the English sympathizers with the Revolution does not appear to have been important.

Outbreak of
war between
France and
Austria. 1792.

Valmy and
Jemappes.

First effects
of the Re-
volution in
England.

With the year 1790 Burke began to sound the note of alarm. On February 9 he made a famous speech which foreshadowed the approaching disruption of the Whig party. In November, 1790, he published his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, in which he pointed out that the Revolution introduced into Europe a new form of government resting on the doctrine of the rights of man, and that it was a formidable blow to the rights of property. The book was received with enthusiasm, and had a most extraordinary effect. The growing anarchy in France was already attracting attention, and Burke's great work warned the world of the coming dissolution of society in France.

Burke's "*Reflections on the French Revolution*".

In 1791 Thomas Paine the Freethinker, a strong advocate of Republicanism, issued the first part of his *Rights of Man* in answer to Burke, and the Revolution Society formed branches in Norwich and Manchester and disseminated revolutionary principles. On May 6 the friendship of Burke and Fox came to an end, and the former transferred his support to the ministry. In July a large mob attacked a meeting of the Revolution Society at Birmingham presided over by Priestley, and destroyed a great amount of property. It became evident that a strong feeling of conservative reaction had been roused in the country.

Revolutionary societies.

During these years the English government had observed a strict neutrality, and had aimed at preserving its alliance with Prussia unimpaired. Till the close of 1792 Pitt and his colleagues paid little attention to European politics. The prevention of disturbances in Europe, and financial reforms and commercial expansion, were the main aims of their policy. At its outset Pitt had welcomed the Revolution, and decided that it was a matter which concerned France alone. Both he and Fox failed to appreciate the fact that a new situation had been created. Engrossed in plans for the restoration of the English finances, for the improvement of Ireland, and for the strengthening of the constitution, Pitt thought that the

Neutral attitude of the English government.

French would be entirely occupied for some years in restoring order and good government, and that England would thus gain a valuable period of peace, which she might use not only to gain security and happiness, but also for national aggrandizement.

Till the end of 1792 the English government refused to join Austria and Prussia in the policy of Pilnitz, and observed a strict neutrality. But after the appropriation of Savoy by the French, and their occupation of the Austrian Netherlands, in November, 1792, followed by the opening of the Scheldt and the decrees of November 19 and December 15, the situation became altered, and Pitt's policy of neutrality was shaken. Holland was in danger of immediate invasion, and Holland was a member of the Triple Alliance of 1788. It was impossible for England to leave Holland to its fate, and war became inevitable.

In December, 1792, the French impeached their king for treason to the nation, and after a mere mockery of a trial he was guillotined. The terrible end of the weak but well-meaning Louis roused a feeling of horror throughout England, and though Pitt remained sincerely desirous of continuing his reforms, all hope of peace was destroyed when on February 1 the French government declared war on England. Between February, 1793, and the Peace of Amiens Pitt twice succeeded in uniting Europe against France, whilst at the same time he seized every opportunity of trying to bring about peace. During these years the English arms were uniformly successful at sea and unsuccessful on land.

The first half of 1793 saw Europe united against the Revolutionists. England, Spain, Holland, Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia had apparently the same object in view, and concerted action on the part of the allies would have overcome the French resistance. Dumouriez was defeated at Neerwinden; Belgium was retaken by the Austrians; Mainz, Valenciennes, and Toulon fell into the hands of the allies. But Prussia, bent on securing a share of Poland, and jealous of the

Causes of the
war with
France. 1793.

Opening of
the war.

Austrian designs on Bavaria, showed an increasing reluctance to carry out its engagements; Austria cared more about effecting the exchange of Bavaria for Belgium, and for securing Alsace, than for marching on Paris, while the Duke of York at the head of an English army, and the Prince of Coburg in command of the Austrian forces, wasted time on the sieges of Dunkirk and Cambrai, and failed to keep their communications open. The French armies, under the vigorous management of Carnot and the Committee of Public Safety, were reorganized, York was driven from Dunkirk with the loss of all his artillery, the Austrians were defeated at Wattignies, at Wörth, and at Weissenburg, and before the end of the year the French frontier was secure from all danger of attack. An attempt on the part of the English to help the Royalists in La Vendée had failed; Toulon had been retaken by the genius of Bonaparte; Lyons and Marseilles, which had revolted against the revolutionary government, had fallen.

French
successes.
1793-1794.

The year 1794 saw the continued success of the French on land and that of the English by sea. The French settlements in India had been lost, the Corsicans had risen against the French, and Nelson and Hood had taken Bastia. Not only had the English supremacy in the Mediterranean been established, but on June 1 Lord Howe had overthrown the French Atlantic fleet under the command of Villaret Joyeuse. On the Continent, however, the energy of Pitt had failed before that of the terrible "Committee of Public Safety". After the fall of the Girondists in June, 1793, France was governed by this body, which included such men as Carnot, Couthon, Robespierre, St. Just, and others. Its methods were ruthless, but successful. Every general who failed was at once denounced by it as a traitor and guillotined. The French victory of Fleurus over the Austrians was followed by the capture of Cologne and Coblenz, and the occupation of Belgium, while in the south the Sardinians had failed to defend the passes of the Alps. The continual reverses of the allies were crowned early in 1795

by the occupation of Amsterdam by the French and the seizure of the Dutch fleet. The victorious republic had now overrun Navarre, Catalonia, part of Piedmont, the left bank of the Rhine, Holland, and Belgium.

French
capture of
Holland.
1795.

In consequence of the quarrels among its members and of the successes of the French, the coalition began to fall to pieces. Tuscany made peace in February, and during the year the republic concluded treaties at Basel, with Prussia, Holland, Spain, Sweden, and Hesse Cassel. Spain and Holland were ere long found joining their old enemy and declaring war on England. Naples and Sweden also made treaties, while Denmark remained neutral, and Turkey adopted a friendly attitude towards France. England, Sardinia, and Austria were left to continue the struggle with the victorious French armies, now about to be led by Bonaparte. The

The Treaties
of Basel.
1795.

year 1795 saw the failure of an expedition of French emigrants from England to Quiberon in Brittany. Though supported by the English fleet, the Royalists were unable to make any resistance to the Republican troops, who quenched the Breton insurrection in blood.

The expedi-
tion to
Quiberon
Bay.

The establishment of the Directory in power, after the fall of the bloodthirsty Jacobins and the end of the "Reign of Terror" in France, towards the end of 1795, encouraged Pitt to make determined efforts to bring about peace. In March, 1796, the year of Bonaparte's great Italian campaign, overtures were made through Wickham, our minister in Switzerland. These overtures failed, as did a second effort in October, through Lord Malmesbury, to bring about a pacification. Pitt felt bound not to resign the Netherlands to France, though he was willing to restore the Cape of Good Hope, taken in 1795, and certain

Pitt attempts
to make
peace.

Expedition
of Hoche to
Bantry Bay.

West Indian Islands, captured in 1796. But the French government, emboldened by Bonaparte's successes in Italy, determined to send an expedition to Ireland and to invade England. The

Directory took an insolent tone, and on December 19 ordered our envoy to leave Paris. On December 15 Hoche sailed with a great army to invade Ireland, and 1500 men landed in Pembrokeshire. Both expeditions, however, were failures, and Hoche's fleet was scattered and partly destroyed by a great storm, while on February 14, 1797, Jervis and Nelson destroyed the Spanish fleet at St. Vincent, and with it all hope of invading England. But as the year proceeded the outlook darkened. In April a mutiny, to some extent the work of Irish rebels, broke out in the navy, which for five weeks was paralysed, and in the same month Austria, completely humbled by Bonaparte's wonderful series of victories in Italy, signed the preliminaries of Leoben, which were followed on October 17 by the completion of the Peace of Campo Formio.

The battle of
St. Vincent.
1797.

The Peace of
Campo
Formio. 1797.

Austria's definite retirement from the war was seized upon by the English ministry as an opportunity for making a fresh attempt to bring about peace with France, and Lord Malmesbury opened negotiations at Lisle, offering to restore all conquests except the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and Trinidad. The French government, however, whose power depended upon its army, refused the offered terms, and the war was vigorously prosecuted. The defeat, on October

The battle of
Camper-
down.

11, of the Dutch fleet in the battle of Camperdown only roused the French to fresh exertions against England, and the Directory intrusted Bonaparte with a large army for a campaign in Egypt. It was believed in France that the occupation of Egypt would deal a severe blow at the English power in the East, that Tippoo Sahib, the Sultan of Mysore, would prove a useful ally, and that the French domination in India could be re-established. On May 19, 1798, a French army left Toulon, Malta was taken, and Bonaparte, landing at Alexandria on July 12, defeated the Mamelukes in the battle of the Pyramids and established his hold on Egypt. England, however, was still supreme at sea, and Pitt's

Bonaparte's
expedition to
Egypt. 1798.

energy was unabated. On August 8 Nelson won the battle of the Nile, entirely destroying the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, and thus shutting up Bonaparte and his army in Egypt. Next Pitt set on foot the Second Coalition. The Tsar Paul I. willingly co-operated, Turkey, indignant at the French occupation of Egypt, offered its aid, Austria and Naples prepared for war, and the German princes were for the most part anxious to recover the Imperial lands beyond the Rhine.

English subsidies held together this Coalition, which gained some brilliant successes in the spring and summer of 1799. The victories of the Austrians under the Archduke Charles and Kray, and of the Russians under Suvaróv, cleared Germany and Italy of the French, while an English expedition, though commanded by the Duke of York, succeeded in capturing the Dutch fleet in the Texel. The French seemed unable to withstand the attacks of the powerful confederacy, and at the same time Bonaparte's dreams of founding an Eastern empire had been shattered by his unsuccessful siege of Acre. On May 21 he was repulsed from its walls by the Pacha Djeddar, aided by Sir Sydney Smith and the crews of some English ships. Though he overthrew the Turks at the battle of Aboukir, the news of disaster to the French arms in Europe decided him to leave his army under the command of Kléber and return to France.

Before his arrival all immediate danger had disappeared. Masséna annihilated at Zurich (Sept. 26) the army under Korsakov, which was attempting to form a junction with Suvaróv. The latter, who had forced the St. Gotthard pass, was compelled, after superhuman exertions, to retire to Chur. The Russians believed themselves betrayed by the Austrians, while the English in Holland complained that want of discipline among the Muscovite troops had caused a defeat before Bergen. Shortly afterwards the Duke of York signed a convention at Alkmaar agreeing to withdraw from Hol-

The battle of the Nile and the Second Coalition.

The successes of the allies. 1799.

Bonaparte's defeat at Acre.

Failure of the Second Coalition.

land. The generalship of Masséna, aided by the jealousies among the allies, had saved France; the return of Bonaparte gave it a stable government. On November 9 [18th Brumaire] he carried out his Coup d'Etat, and drove out the Directory. Two days later he was made First Consul and practically dictator. An offer on his part to open negotiations with England was not accepted, and the year 1800 saw the famous Marengo campaign, in which Bonaparte, on June 14, overthrew the Austrians on the plains of Marengo and regained North Italy. On December 2 Moreau won the battle of Hohenlinden, and on February 9, 1801, Austria was forced to sign the Treaty of Luneville. Russia meanwhile had deserted the coalition, and Paul, who had become a great admirer of Napoleon, persuaded Denmark and Sweden to join him in renewing the Armed Neutrality of 1780. England, whose maritime supremacy was now attacked, was thus left to carry on the war single-handed.

Bonaparte's return. He becomes First Consul. 1799.

The battle of Marengo and the Treaty of Luneville. 1801.

During these years of war Pitt's domestic policy had been changed, though it was not till after the outbreak of hostilities with France that the full effects of the French Revolution were appreciated. While that revolution gave a great impetus to the cause of democracy in Europe, in England it checked all progressive legislation, and led to the reorganization of parties. On the other hand, revolutionary forces were at first encouraged, and the rebellion in Ireland was undoubtedly due to the influence of the French Revolution. From 1793 to 1801 Pitt, from the information in his possession, considered himself fully justified in enacting repressive measures. His hands were strengthened by the fact that Burke and all the Portland Whigs had in 1794 cut themselves loose from Fox and the other sympathizers with France. The parliamentary opposition had dwindled away to a few scores, and did not act as the least check on the reactionary policy of the ministry. On January 4, 1793, the Alien Bill was passed to check the work of

The effects of the French Revolution on Pitt's domestic policy.

Pitt's repressive policy.

emissaries from the Jacobin Government; then followed the Traitorous Correspondence Bill, the Seditious Meetings Bill, and various prosecutions. In 1794 the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended, and the government made arrests right and left. Though severe sentences were passed on Muir, a member of the Society of the Friends of the People, on Margarot and Gerald, agents of similar societies, and on others, the state trials of Horne Tooke, Hardy, and Thelwall, the leaders of the revolutionary party in England, ended in the acquittal of all the accused.

Though Pitt had adopted a vigorous policy of repression, his administrative ability was given full play during these

Financial
Crisis.
1793.

years. In 1793 a financial crisis took place, and more than one hundred banks failed. Pitt, recognizing that the deficiency in the means of

exchange, due to the enormous increase of manufacturing industry, was the cause of the trouble, and that the country was solvent, issued Bills on the Exchequer to the value of five millions. In 1795 he had again to deal with the

The Prince
of Wales'
marriage.
1795.

financial embarrassments of the worthless Prince of Wales, who was induced to marry Caroline of Brunswick, and in consequence received a large increase of income. The

marriage, however, was unhappy from the first, and led to nothing but misery.

The same year (1795) was one of growing trouble; it witnessed a great increase of the discontent among the lower classes, caused by bad harvests and by depression of trade. The king was assaulted on his way to Buckingham Palace, with the result that two coercive Bills, known as the Sedition and Treason Bills, were passed, while the financial necessities of the Government were met by a tax on legacies and on the succession of money and personal property. The years 1796 and 1797 were

Critical
condition of
England.
1796-7.

even more critical for England. The enormous subsidies paid to foreign armies had produced no satisfactory results. French expeditions

had been sent to Ireland and Wales, there was serious disaffection among our sailors, the country was face to

face with a grievous monetary crisis. Realizations caused by the fear of invasion, together with the payment of subsidies to foreign powers, and the large purchases of food and war material, had caused a run on the county banks, and the Bank of England itself was in danger of losing all its specie. Pitt at once issued a proclamation suspending cash payments, and averted a general bankruptcy. But the most terrible of all the dangers which he had to face were the mutinies of the Channel Fleet in April, 1797. The crews of the ships at Spithead and the Nore, worn out with long blockading service, and irritated by the badness of their rations and the smallness of their pay, refused to put to sea or to obey their officers, though foreign invasion was still impending. They were quieted by the concession of most of their demands, but a few of the ringleaders were hanged. After the suppression of the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore, and the relief afforded by the proclamation forbidding payments in cash, Pitt's attention became principally concentrated on his efforts to form the Second Coalition and to deal with the difficulties in Ireland.

In that country Lord Fitzwilliam, who had been appointed Viceroy in 1794, attempted to check corruption and to prepare the way for Catholic Emancipation. The upholders of the Protestant ascendancy, however, proved too strong for him; he was recalled and Lord Camden named as his successor. The recall of Fitzwilliam was the signal for the beginning of a bitter struggle between the "Catholic revolutionary Irish, and the Protestant upholders of English ascendancy". In this struggle the Society of United Irishmen¹ formed by Wolfe Tone, a young barrister of ability, played a leading part. The object of Wolfe Tone and his friends, whose headquarters were at Belfast, was to effect, by means of French aid, a separation from England. Together with Lord Edward Fitzgerald he planned the invasion of Hoche,² but

Monetary
crisis. 1797.

Rebellion in
Ireland. 1798.

Wolfe Tone
and the
United
Irishmen.

¹ So called because they wished to unite the Catholic and Protestant Irish in one movement.

² See page 109.

on its failure General Lake succeeded in disarming the conspirators in Ulster in 1797 and in Munster the following year. On May 21, 1798, Fitzgerald and other leaders were captured, but two days later the insurrection burst out. There were revolts all over the south of Ireland, but only in Wexford did the insurgents win any success, or obtain possession of the countryside. In their short moment of triumph they committed dreadful atrocities and murdered all the Protestants on whom they could lay hands. This conduct deprived them of any sympathy from the discontented Nonconformists of Ulster, and the rising became purely local and Catholic. The rebels were completely overthrown by General Lake at the battle of Vinegar Hill on June 21, and the insurrection was put down with great cruelty. In August, a French expedition under General Humbert landed in Mayo, and routed some militia at Castlebar. He was soon afterwards forced to surrender to Lord Cornwallis, the new Viceroy, and the rebellion of 1798 came to an end.

Suppression
of the in-
surrection,
Vinegar Hill.

These events forced on Pitt the necessity for the immediate Union of England and Ireland. He wished to grant Catholic Emancipation, to put an end to the Dublin Parliament, and to destroy all possibility of French influence in Ireland. The Anglo-Irish Protestants were with difficulty persuaded to give up their Parliament, in which they were supreme. At length, after a large distribution of titles and pensions, the Act of Union was passed on February 18, 1800. Ireland was henceforth to be represented by 32 peers and 100 commoners in the Parliament of the "United Kingdom".

Pitt's
scheme for
the Union of
England and
Ireland.

In India the English arms had been successful, and all danger of French intervention had been removed. Tippoo Sultan of Mysore had, at the instigation of Bonaparte, threatened to attack the Madras Presidency. Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, however, fell on him before he had time for preparation, defeated and slew him,

Lord Welles-
ley over-
throws
Tippoo
Sultan of
Mysore.
1799.

captured Seringapatam and subdued Southern India (May, 1799).

The year 1800 taxed all the energies of the Government, and an autumn session of Parliament was rendered necessary owing to the internal condition of England. Early in the following year the first United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland met, and Pitt proposed a Catholic Relief Bill. Some members of the Cabinet were opposed to the Bill, and the Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, supported by Lord Auckland, persuaded the king that in consenting to such a measure he would be breaking his coronation oath. As in 1783, in the case of Fox's India Bill, George III. declared that he "would hold anyone who supported it as his personal enemy". Pitt thereupon resigned, and with him retired Grenville, Dundas, Windham, and Spencer. Addington, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and a man of very moderate attainments, became Prime Minister: he was for a time supported by Pitt, who, in consequence of the renewal of the king's illness, had promised never to reintroduce the Catholic question.

The Catholic Relief Bill.
Resignation of Pitt. 1801.

Addington becomes Prime Minister.

To Addington fell the duty of bringing about peace with France. In 1800 we had taken Malta, in March, 1801, Abercrombie defeated the French in the battle of Alexandria and restored Egypt to the Turks, while a fleet under Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson second in command, defeated the Danes in the battle of Copenhagen, forced the Swedes to withdraw, and prepared to attack the Russians. The Armed Neutrality, already shattered, received its death-blow by the accession of Alexander, who at once reversed the policy of his predecessor Paul. In June peace was made between Russia and England, and Bonaparte, recognizing the failure of the French schemes in Egypt and in the north, and the reality of the English maritime supremacy, and being, moreover, anxious for breathing-time in order to prepare

The capture of Malta and Battle of Alexandria. 1801.

The battle of Copenhagen. 1801.

The Peace of Amiens. March, 1802.

for fresh aggressions, agreed to certain preliminaries, which were signed on October 1. In England peace was earnestly desired. Though most of the French colonies were in English hands, England was isolated in Europe, her debt was immense, taxation was heavy. By agreeing to peace England would prove to the world that she had no ulterior motives in waging war, and was willing to believe that Bonaparte would be satisfied. On March 15, 1802, peace was signed at Amiens with France, Spain, and Holland. Malta, now in English hands, was to be restored to the Knights of St. John. England gave up all her conquests save the islands of Ceylon and Trinidad. She restored the conquered French colonies to France, the Cape of Good Hope to Holland, and Egypt to the Porte. The French armies were to be withdrawn from Naples, Rome, and Portugal, and England recognized Bonaparte as First Consul. It was hoped that there would be no renewal of war with France.

CHAPTER X.

ENGLAND AND NAPOLEON, 1802-1815.

Before the year 1802 was over, it became evident that Bonaparte had no intention of accepting the Peace of Amiens as a final settlement. In the autumn he annexed Piedmont and Parma. He compelled Holland and North Italy to prohibit the importation of English merchandise, and occupied Switzerland with his troops. Furious at the refusal of the English to evacuate Malta, he insulted our envoy, Lord Whitworth, in Paris; he demanded that the English Government should suppress some London newspapers by which he had been attacked, and that French emigrants should be expelled from England. Even Addington recognized the necessity of vigorous action in reply to these insolent menaces. Early in 1803 Lord Whitworth

High-handed
conduct of
Bonaparte.

was withdrawn from Paris, and on May 18 war was declared.

The struggle with France which was now renewed was at first a contest between a free state and a despot: it finally developed into a contest between Europe on the one hand and French domination on the other. Till the Peace of Amiens France was ostensibly struggling to convert Europe to the principles of revolution, and to vindicate the rights of oppressed peoples against their rulers—in a word, for “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity”. The victories of the French armies had conferred undoubted benefits on Europe. Many small dynasties, the existence of which brought little advantage to their subjects, had been swept away; the monarchs of large states had begun to perceive the claims of the people over whom they ruled, and an enormous impetus had been given to the cause of democracy. Feudalism and feudal privileges received their death-blow; and in 1801 Europe, though defeated, was in a far healthier condition than at any period in the previous century. Bonaparte henceforward devoted himself to the task not of freeing down-trodden nations, but of laying the French yoke upon their necks. The efforts to oppose him gradually became general: the feeling of nationality, roused by the cosmopolitan and anti-national influence of the Revolution, developed apace in every part of Europe, and “before the uprising of the nations he gradually succumbed”.

In this struggle England took a leading part, and though other countries were forced to yield to Napoleon, she continued her efforts till, in 1815, they were crowned with success. In 1803 and 1804 the First Consul attempted not only to invade England, but to weaken her by supporting an Irish rebellion headed by one Robert Emmett, and by stirring up various native states against the British power in India. Emmett’s rebellion was easily put down, and Lord Wellesley, Governor-General of India, aided by his famous brother, Arthur Wellesley, and General Lake,

Reopening of
the war with
France. 1803.
Its character.

Attempted
invasion of
England.

overthrew the opposition of the Mahrattas at Assaye, Argaum, Delhi, and Laswaree.

Bonaparte's attempts to invade England were equally unsuccessful. From June, 1803, to September, 1805, an army of 150,000 men remained stationed on the coast between Dunkirk and St. Valery, and elaborate preparations were made for their embarkation in flat-bottomed boats for conveyance across the Channel. But these preparations proved fruitless. England was roused, a volunteer movement was set on foot, which added more than 300,000 men to our armed forces, new vessels were built, and defensive measures were taken. **England's defensive operations.** Pitt was recalled to power in **Pitt's Second Ministry. 1804.** April, 1804, and formed a Tory Government, in which Canning occupied a subordinate position.

A strong minister at the helm was indeed necessary. Early in 1805 the First Consul had been crowned emperor, with the title of Napoleon I., and had formed an ingenious scheme for the invasion of England. A large fleet under Villeneuve, after having enticed the English fleet under Nelson to the West Indies, was to be concentrated in the Channel, and under its protection the French army was to be landed in England.

The first part of the scheme succeeded, and Villeneuve having deceived Nelson, sailed back for Brest. But by good fortune the Admiralty got timely news of his return, and Admiral Calder, at the head of a squadron, lay in wait for him off Cape Finisterre, attacked him, and compelled him to retire to Cadiz. Napoleon's scheme was shattered, England was saved, and the plan of invasion was abandoned. **Defeat of Napoleon's Schemes.**

When it was too late Villeneuve ventured out of Cadiz, and on October 31 the battle of Trafalgar was fought, in which Nelson's twenty-eight ships gained a decisive victory over the thirty-three of the combined Franco-Spanish fleet. Though Nelson was killed in the hour of victory, England secured the supremacy of the sea, and Napoleon was forced to recognize his **The battle of Trafalgar.**

inability to damage his hated foe by means of any direct naval attack upon her shores.

On the Continent, however, he remained invincible. Pitt had, indeed, early in 1805, formed the Third Coalition, of which Russia and Austria were the leading members, to attack the French; but the neutrality of Prussia, the incompetence of the Austrian general Mack, and the unreadiness of the Russians, enabled Napoleon to capture the larger part of the Austrian army at Ulm, to occupy Vienna, and to defeat the combined Russo-Austrian armies at the great battle of Austerlitz, on December 2.

On January 23, 1806, Pitt died. His Second Ministry, though brightened by Trafalgar, had been one of continual anxiety. His friend, Lord Melville, better known as Dundas, had, in April, 1805, been censured for misappropriation of the public money, and impeached; the failure of the Third Coalition and Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz assisted to break down his physical strength. The debt which England owes to her great minister is a heavy one, for seldom has she been so well served as during the years when Pitt was Prime Minister.

The ensuing two years saw the development of enormous schemes of aggrandizement on the part of Napoleon. Central Germany was reorganized and formed into the Confederation of the Rhine; while Prussia, forced by Napoleon's intolerable arrogance to declare war upon France, was overthrown at the battle of Jena, in October, 1806. The Russians, as in 1805, appeared too late to save their allies. Prussia was completely crushed before they had crossed the Vistula, and after fighting the indecisive battle of Eylau against them, Napoleon won, in May, 1807, a crowning victory at Friedland. In June he and the Emperor Alexander made the Treaty of Tilsit. Prussia was dismembered; the lands that she lost in the west, together with the Electorates of Hanover and Hesse, were made into a "Kingdom of Westphalia", and

The battle of
Austerlitz.

Death of
Pitt. 1806.

French
victories at
Jena and
Friedland.

The Treaty
of Tilsit.
1807.

given to Napoleon's brother, Jerome; the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was formed out of the Polish districts of Prussia, and was destined to revive the old Polish realm and nationality. By a secret clause Russia undertook to join in Napoleon's crusade against England, unless the latter should make peace before November, 1807.

The French emperor having thus established his domination in Europe, hoped to carry out his schemes for the annihilation of English commerce. On November 21, 1806, he issued the famous "Berlin Decrees", declaring the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, forbidding France and all countries under her sway to trade with England, and confiscating all British merchandise, and all private property of Englishmen that should be found on the Continent.

England stood up boldly against Napoleon's audacious policy, which established what is known as "the Continental System". On Pitt's death the nation demanded a strong and united ministry, and the Grenville-Fox Ministry — known as the Ministry of All the Talents — was formed on a broad and comprehensive basis. Though the Whig element predominated, several Tories, such as Addington (now Lord Sidmouth), the Premier of the years 1801-4, and Ellenborough, the Lord Chief Justice, were admitted into the Government, which resembled rather the Coalition of 1783 than the Second Rockingham Ministry of 1782. The slave-trade was at once attacked, the Abolition Bill being passed on March 25, 1807; and in deference to Fox's opposition to war with France, negotiations with Napoleon were opened.

But the insulting character of the Emperor's proposals convinced Fox that the continuance of the war was necessary, and Pitt's policy was continued. On September 13, 1806, Fox died, being succeeded as Foreign Secretary by Lord Howick. In January, 1807, Napoleon's Berlin Decrees were answered by the first of a series of "Orders in Council" forbidding vessels to trade between

The Contin-
ental System.

The Gren-
ville-Fox
Ministry.

Death of Fox.

The First
Orders in
Council.

any ports in the possession of France or of her allies. A fierce commercial war thus began, which continued till 1814. "The French soldiers were turned into coast-guardsmen to shut out Great Britain from her markets; the British ships became revenue-cutters to prohibit the trade of France." Before, however, any further measures could be taken against Napoleon the Ministry of All the Talents had fallen. The question of the Catholic claims had been revived by Lord Howick, who brought in a Bill throwing open the army and navy to Roman Catholics, as well as Nonconformists. Lord Sidmouth at once resigned, and the king not only insisted on the withdrawal of the Bill, but demanded from his ministers a pledge not to raise the Catholic question again. On their refusal they were dismissed, on March 25, 1807, the day on which the Bill for the abolition of the slave-trade received the royal assent. George III. had again triumphed, and his opposition to the Grenville-Fox Administration was supported by public opinion.

Fall of the
Ministry of
All the Tal-
ents. March
25, 1807.

The new administration was headed by the Duke of Portland, and included Spencer Perceval as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Canning as Foreign and Castlereagh as Colonial and War Secretary, while Hawkesbury took the Home Office.

The Portland
Administra-
tion.

Canning remained in charge of the Foreign Department till September 9, 1809, and showed great energy and determination in his conduct of affairs. In answer to the Treaty of Tilsit with its secret articles, Canning ordered the Danish fleet to be seized and transported to England, as Russia and France had proposed to use the Danish fleet in order to attack the English maritime supremacy. On the refusal of the Danish Crown Prince to surrender the fleet to Lord Gambier, Copenhagen was bombarded for four days. The fleet and arsenal were then surrendered

Bombardment
of Copen-
hagen and
seizure of the
Danish fleet.

(Sept. 8, 1807), and Napoleon's scheme was defeated. In November, 1807, in consequence of Napoleon's extension of the "Continental System" to the Mediter-

ranee, a second series of Orders in Council was issued, granting reprisals "against the goods, ships, and inhabitants of Tuscany, Naples, Dalmatia, and the Ionian Islands". While the "Continental System" stirred up feelings of intense irritation against Napoleon in Russia, the Orders in Council roused a deep resentment against England in the United States, for they rendered all trading with France by neutral powers impossible.

Further
Orders in
Council
issued.

Though Napoleon's schemes had received a rude check in the north owing to Canning's energy and foresight, the "Continental System" was acknowledged everywhere except in Portugal, and the Emperor now hoped with reason to succeed in a daring attempt to subjugate the Spanish peninsula. After the Treaty of Tilsit, he had proposed to the Prince Regent of Portugal that his fleet should join the maritime coalition against England. On the prince's refusal, he issued the decree "The House of Braganza has ceased to reign", and sent an army under Junot to occupy Lisbon. The Prince Regent was forced to fly, and French troops overran Portugal. But the conquest of Portugal was only part of a wider scheme which had for its object the substitution of Napoleon's brother Joseph for Charles IV. as King of Spain. Taking advantage of the quarrels of Charles with his son Ferdinand, Napoleon summoned both father and son to meet him at Bayonne, forced them to resign their claims on Spain, proclaimed Joseph king, and after suppressing a rising at Madrid placed him on the Spanish throne in June, 1808.

French inva-
sion of Por-
tugal.

The Spanish
Rising. 1808.

The Spaniards, however, had no intention of submitting to French dictation. Like the Portuguese they had been deserted by their rulers, but throughout the whole country resistance was organized against the French. While Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed in the great towns of Spain, in Portugal a popular junta under the Bishop was established in Oporto. Napoleon found himself confronted by the opposition of the most fanatical people in Europe. In no country was provincial feeling stronger

than in the Peninsula, and in every province committees were formed to organize a national insurrection. Napoleon now found himself in collision with the power of the people. The news of the Spanish insurrection was received with enthusiasm in England and in Germany. Throughout Europe all lovers of national ^{England aids} liberty were encouraged in their work of ^{Spain.} opposing the French domination. In June, 1808, two envoys from the Junta of the province of Asturias arrived in England to ask for help, and the Government seized the opportunity of aiding the Spaniards. Till this period the ministries of Pitt and of "All the Talents" had favoured the sending of small detached expeditions. Stuart in 1806 had landed in Southern Italy and won the battle of Maida. The Cape of Good Hope had been recaptured in 1805, and Ceylon and Java in 1807. The French possessions restored in 1802 were reoccupied, and by 1810 France did not possess a single colony. An English army had in 1805 garrisoned Sicily, and England was thus safely established in the Mediterranean.

In 1808 a new policy was decided upon, and it was resolved to send a powerful army to Portugal under Arthur Wellesley. A few days before it ^{The Conven-} landed a French corps under General Du- ^{tion of Cintra.} pont had been forced to capitulate at Baylen to the Spanish levies (July 22, 1808). On August 21, after a successful combat at Rorica (Aug. 17), Wellesley inflicted a crushing defeat on Junot in the battle of Vimiera. Unfortunately he was superseded in turn by Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple, who on August 30 concluded the Convention of Cintra, allowing Junot to evacuate Portugal. Though the political effects ^{The battle of} of the Convention were immense, English ^{Corunna.} public opinion declared against it, and Dal- ^{Jan. 19, 1809.} rymple and Burrard were put on trial: the army in Portugal being turned over to Sir John Moore. Roused by the two reverses to his armies, Napoleon determined to proceed with his veteran troops to the Peninsula, and having renewed at Erfurt (Oct. 12) his alliance with the

Tsar, he arrived at Vittoria on November 8, 1808, scattered the Spanish armies, pushed on to Madrid, and then turned all his attention to crushing the 25,000 English troops under Sir John Moore, who had advanced into Spain and was now threatening his communications with France. In face of the grand army of Napoleon, Moore began his famous retreat to Corunna. On January 1, 1809, Napoleon, finding that he could not catch the English, turned over his army to Soult and then returned to Paris. Austria was on the verge of declaring war against France, and a conspiracy was being organized against the Emperor in the French capital. The pursuit of Moore therefore devolved upon Soult, who was defeated on January 16 in the battle of Corunna, in which the gallant English commander was killed.

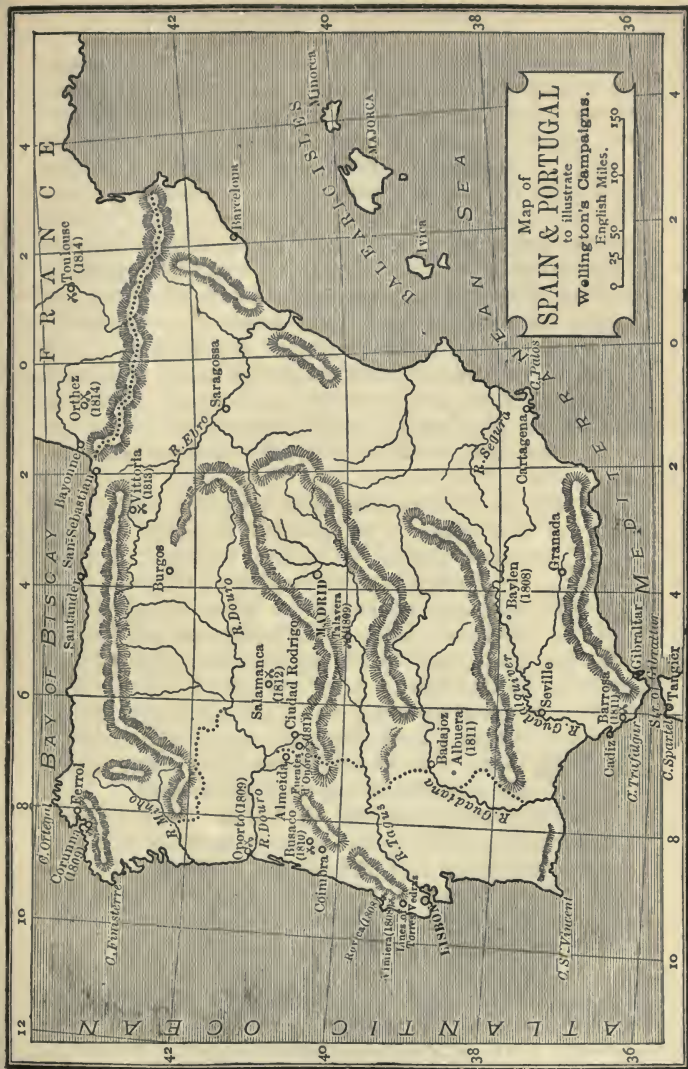
The English troops were safely embarked, and for a second time the policy of the English in the Peninsula seemed to have failed. Public opinion, however, was strongly in favour of sending aid

Beginning of
the Peninsular
War. 1809.

to Spain, and on April 22, 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley returned to Portugal and the Peninsular War began. The English ministry had also determined to aid Austria, which, on April 9, had expressed the growing feeling of opposition to Napoleon by declaring war against France. In July the famous Walcheren Expedition was organized and Flushing taken. The theory that England must meet France by land lay at the bottom of the expeditions to Portugal and Holland: it was advocated by Castlereagh, and was, in spite of occasional failures, the correct theory. On the whole the year 1809 was favourable to the English cause, though the Walcheren

The Wal-
cheren Expedi-
tion and Tala-
vera.

Expedition under Lord Chatham, "undertaken under false expectations and planned in ignorance", proved a disastrous failure, and though the Austrians, defeated at Wagram, were compelled to make the Treaty of Vienna with Napoleon (Oct. 14). Wellesley had marched on Madrid and his victory at Talavera on July 28 encouraged the ministry, though soon after he was compelled to retreat on Portugal



by the superior numbers of the enemy. He was created Viscount Wellington, and though hampered by the weak war administration in England and compelled to rely upon himself alone, he was enabled to take effective measures for defending Portugal. The year 1810 saw a well-organized attempt on the part of the French to overrun that country. Masséna and Soult were to enter Portugal from different points, to meet at Lisbon, and to expel the English. But Wellington was fully prepared. Since the autumn of 1809 he had fortified the Lisbon promontory by means of great defensive works known as the lines of Torres Vedras. He defeated Masséna at the battle of Busaco on September 29, a victory which had an encouraging effect on his own army. In November the French retreated, and early in 1811 Portugal was freed from her foes.

The year 1811 forms the most critical period in the history of the war. The English ministry was not unanimous as to the best means of carrying on the war, and Wellington's hands had been seriously weakened in 1809 by Canning's over-confidence in the patriotism and courage of the Spaniards, and by his ignorance of the military necessities of the time. After the failure of the Walcheren Expedition Canning and Castlereagh quarrelled, fought a duel (Sept. 22), and resigned. The Duke of Portland followed their example, and the ministry was at once reconstructed, Lord Wellesley becoming Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord Liverpool taking the War Office, and Perceval becoming the most important member of the Cabinet. Till his retirement on February 17, 1812, Lord Wellesley endeavoured to support his brother in Portugal, but failed to make his colleagues realize the greatness of the openings afforded in the Spanish Peninsula. In November, 1810, the serious illness of George III. necessitated the appointment of a regent. In February, 1811, a Regency Bill making the Prince of

The lines of
Torres Vedras. 1810.

Wellington
and the Eng-
lish Govern-
ment.

The Perceval
Ministry. 1809.

The Regency
Bill of 1811.

Wales Regent with restricted powers, was passed. The Prince did not call his old friends the Whigs to office, but retained the Perceval Ministry, and shortly afterwards Lord Castlereagh was readmitted to office. In May, 1812, Perceval was assassinated by a private enemy, and Lord Liverpool became Premier. During these years the British army was carrying out a difficult task in the Peninsula.

Death of Perceval. The Liverpool Ministry. 1812.

Inadequately supported from home, and hampered by the incapable Portuguese regency, Wellington, notwithstanding his victory of Fuentes D'Onoro (May 5) and Beresford's defeat of Soult at Albuera (May 16), was compelled to remain on the defensive. In spite of the efforts of the numerous guerrilla bands and the general opposition to the invaders, Spain remained in the hands of the French, and Portugal was threatened. Events, however, in central and north-eastern Europe came to the aid of the British cause, and though the years 1810-11 saw Napoleon apparently at the height of his power, signs of a general European opposition to the French domination were not wanting.

Wellington in Portugal in 1811.

In Germany secret societies were rapidly undermining the influence of the French, and the efforts of Stein, Hardenberg, and Scharnhorst in Prussia never ceased. In Russia the discontent caused by the Continental System had become general. Alexander was deeply irritated at Napoleon's seizure of Oldenburg, which belonged to one of his relations, and only expressed the national feeling when, in December, 1810, he notified to Napoleon that henceforward the Russian Government would only adhere in a modified degree to the Continental System.

Quarrel between France and Russia. 1810-11.

Napoleon was furious, and the year 1811 was occupied with French and Russian preparations for the war which had now become inevitable. While the French emperor relied largely upon the assistance of Prussian, Bavarian, and Austrian contingents, Alexander concluded a treaty with Sweden, and endeavoured to terminate his war with Turkey, in order to safeguard his armies from any flank

attack. In May, 1812, the French armies began their advance to Russia, and after winning the battle of Borodino they occupied Moscow. But the great city was destroyed by fire within a few days of its conquest, and as the Russian Government persisted in its refusal to negotiate, Napoleon was compelled by the approach of winter and the dearth of supplies to begin his famous retreat. The cold was intense, and the retreating army was exposed to the constant attacks of the Russians. After suffering extraordinary hardships, only a mere wreck of Napoleon's magnificent army of 600,000 men reached Germany in the winter of 1812-13.

In the Peninsula Wellington, during 1812, had won several signal successes. He had captured Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, the two great frontier fortresses between Spain and Portugal. On July 22 he had won the battle of Salamanca, and on August 12 he had entered Madrid. Though forced by the concentration of the French armies to retreat, Wellington's position was much strengthened by the events in central and eastern Europe. The emperor was now struggling against Russia and Prussia, for North Germany had risen against him when the disasters of his retreat from Moscow became fully known. In 1813 he withdrew many of his veterans from Spain, and the French force in the Peninsula was reduced to 197,000 men. Meanwhile Napoleon had advanced to reconquer Germany, but after he had won the battles of Lützen and Bautzen Austria turned against him, and he was overthrown at Leipzig in October, 1813.

The allied Russian, Austrian, and Prussian forces advanced to the Rhine.

The efforts of successive English ministries were now to be crowned with success. But at the last moment England was much hampered by a war with America—the result of the Orders in Council, which, issued with the intention of retaliating on France for the Continental System, inflicted serious injury on neutrals. But though forced to

divert many troops to defend Canada against American attacks, the ministry heartily supported Wellington.

Profiting by a vigorous insurrection in the northern provinces of Spain he had suddenly marched up the north bank of the Douro before the enemy could concentrate, and on June 21, 1813, he won the battle of Vittoria. After fighting several battles in the Pyrenees he forced Soult to retire within the French frontier. Early in 1814 Wellington captured Bordeaux, and on April 10, 1814, he won the battle of Toulouse; but before this victory Napoleon had abdicated, and the allied forces had occupied Paris.

After offering at Frankfort terms which Napoleon had refused, the allies had entered France, and the great campaign of 1814 began. The Emperor was beaten at La Rothière and once more offered peace at the Congress of Châtillon. Elated by some temporary successes he madly broke off the negotiations. But, after a desperate effort to retrieve his position, he saw Paris fall into the hands of his enemies, and, being deserted by his marshals, agreed to abdicate on April 4, 1814. The First Treaty of Paris was then made, and was followed by the restoration of Louis XVIII., the heir of the house of Bourbon. During the ensuing ten months Napoleon was imprisoned in the Isle of Elba, while the settlement of Europe was being effected by all the great powers at Vienna.

In these negotiations the English Government, represented by Castlereagh, and later by Wellington, took a leading part. But before the conclusion of the Congress Napoleon escaped from Elba and landed in France. Louis XVIII. fled from Paris to Ghent, and Napoleon soon found himself at the head of a powerful army. He was now opposed by a united Europe, but hoped to sweep away his nearer enemies before the Austrians and Russians could come upon the field. He threw himself into Belgium, where he was met by a Prussian army under Marshal Blücher and an Anglo-

Wellington
wins Vittoria
and invades
France.

The fall of
Napoleon.

The Congress
of Vienna.

Return of
Napoleon
from Elba and
the battle of
Waterloo.

Dutch army under Wellington. After fighting the battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras against the Prussians and English respectively, he was overthrown at the battle of Waterloo on June 18, 1815. Furiously attacked for seven hours along the slopes of Mont St. Jean, the English held their ground, though their Dutch auxiliaries flinched from the field. In the evening the Prussians began to come up, and, caught between the two armies, Napoleon's host was completely crushed. In July the allies entered Paris, and Napoleon surrendered himself a prisoner to the English and was banished to St. Helena.

A fresh arrangement with France known as the Second Treaty of Paris (Nov. 20, 1815) was made. Louis XVIII.

The Second Treaty of Paris and the Settlement of Europe. was again restored, France lost some territory and had to pay the expenses of the occupation. The settlement of Europe was finally

completed, and England secured Malta, Heligoland, the Ionian Islands, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, and half Dutch Guiana.

The Austrian Netherlands and Holland were united under the Prince of Orange as the "Kingdom of the Netherlands", Norway and Sweden were placed under one ruler. Austria received Venice and its territory, Prussia a portion of Saxony, Russia a large share of Poland, Sardinia the republic of Genoa. Owing to the representations of the English Government France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands agreed to abolish the slave-trade.

In these negotiations Castlereagh's policy had been marked by much practical wisdom. He desired to main-

England in 1815. tain the balance of power in Europe, to save

England from any return to the Continental System, and to preserve peace. Though the principle of nationality was but faintly recognized by the Congress, and though much of its work is open to criticism, it gave Europe a long period of quiet. To England the completion of the Settlement of Vienna came as a great relief. In that country trade was depressed, the agricultural labourers were in deep misery, the whole administration

of affairs was in an unsatisfactory condition. England had been raised to a high position in Europe during the war: she now required a period of peace to consider the many problems which demanded solution.

CHAPTER XI.

REACTION AND REFORM, 1815-1832.

The rising of the peoples which swept away Napoleon had given a new impulse to that great movement in favour of nationality which has characterized the nineteenth century. This movement was, The Holy Alliance. however, to receive a temporary check at the Congress of Vienna, where the rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia had definitely adopted reactionary principles. During the Hundred Days Napoleon had audaciously endeavoured to pose as "the representative of a free modern people", against the Allied Powers. His attempt came too late. Lest it should be renewed the Emperors of Russia and Austria, with the King of Prussia, formed the Holy Alliance, to suppress liberal opinions and demands for a popular form of government in any part of Europe.

Henceforth it was held to be revolutionary to ask any sovereign to take into consideration the wishes of his subjects. Supported by the restored Bourbon Castlereagh's attitude. monarchy in France, the Holy Alliance pursued its reactionary course. Castlereagh, who guided the Foreign Office till 1821, held aloof from continental matters, and the Liverpool ministry found itself fully occupied with numerous internal problems.

During the great war England's manufactures had increased enormously. But the profits were absorbed by the landlord, the manufacturer, and the farmer. Condition of England in 1815. The poverty and discontent of the labouring classes had, by the close of 1815, reached a serious pitch, and it was evident that unless a fairer dis-

tribution of wealth could be attained trouble was sure to continue.

An iniquitous Poor Law, which encouraged improvident marriages and reckless outdoor relief, led the farmers to pay starvation wages to their labourers, and increased the difficulties of the government. The bad harvest of 1816, the distress caused by the war prices, and by the Corn Law of 1815, forbidding the importation of corn when the price was below 80s. a quarter, contributed to provoke the disaffection and disturbances which characterized the years 1815-1820. This discontent, which was essentially social, found a vent in the demand for reform of Parliament, free trade, and the repeal of the Corn Laws.

The price of wheat rose to 103s. a quarter, and the year 1816 saw riots in the agricultural districts of the east of England, and in London itself at Spa Fields. An attack on the Prince Regent, on June 28, 1817, was followed by the appointment of a committee of both Houses to inquire into the general disaffection, and early in 1817 the government adopted repressive measures.

An act to prevent seditious meetings was passed; the lords-lieutenant were advised to authorize magistrates to arrest all persons accused of libellous publications; and, on March 3, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The meeting of the "Blanketeers" in Manchester, on March 29 (so called from the blankets which many had strapped on their shoulders), and a rising in Derbyshire, on June 10, were easily put down, though the government thought itself justified in again suspending the Habeas Corpus, and in instituting a certain number of trials against persons for publishing libels.

In 1818 Parliament was dissolved, and the elections showed a growing opposition among the middle classes to the repressive policy of the ministry. Discontent increased, political meetings were held, revolutionary designs were in the air, the reformers began to drill regularly. Great indignation was felt when, by an unhappy misunderstanding, on August 16, 1819, a regiment of

cavalry charged a large and unarmed mob in St. Peter's Field, Manchester. Four or five persons were killed and some scores wounded. In November the government passed a measure known as the Six Acts, to check the publication of libels, drilling, the use of arms, public meetings, delay in the administration of justice, and to subject certain publications to the duties of stamps upon newspapers.

The Manchester Massacre. August 16, 1819.

On January 29, 1820, George III. died in his eighty-second year. The new king, George IV., was far from being popular. He had quarrelled with his wife, Queen Caroline, and with his only daughter, the popular Princess Charlotte, who had married Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and died in 1817. The king now increased the difficulties of his position by refusing to allow his wife to be crowned with him. So unpopular was George that on her arrival in England in June, 1820, his wife was received with acclamation, not because she herself was a deserving person, but purely because her husband was known to hate her. The ministers were in a very precarious situation. They had just escaped the dangerous plot known as the Cato Street Conspiracy, in which some revolutionary spirits, headed by a certain Thistlewood, had formed a plan for the assassination of the whole cabinet. It was discovered on February 23, and five of the gang were hanged. Having escaped from this danger, the ministers found themselves involved in the trial of the queen for misconduct, instituted by the king shortly after her arrival in England. The feeling in England declared itself strongly in her favour, a bill for dissolving her marriage with the king was suddenly abandoned by Lord Liverpool, the Commons voted her an annuity of £50,000 a year; but in July, 1821, she died.

Death of George III. Accession of George IV.

Queen Caroline.

The alienation between the ministers and the people being now complete, the great questions of Reform of Parliament and Catholic Emancipation come to the front. When the position of the Cabinet seemed more unbending and hopelessly

The unpopularity of the ministry.

reactionary than ever, Lord Sidmouth (the Addington of 1801) resigned, and on September 11, 1822, Lord Castlereagh committed suicide. It became evident that the ministry would have to strengthen itself from the ranks of the moderate Conservatives. Peel succeeded Addington as Secretary of State, Canning took Castlereagh's place, and in 1823 Huskisson also joined the ministry.

Death of Lord
Castlereagh.
Sept., 1822.

The Cabinet at once adopted a more liberal policy. Peel began the reform of the criminal law, Huskisson introduced valuable improvements in the pro-
Canning's
foreign policy. vince of trade and finance—all in the direction of Free Trade,—and Canning infused a new spirit into our foreign policy.

Castlereagh had acted vigorously and effectively down to the fall of Napoleon, and his foreign policy had been on the whole approved. But after 1815 the attitude adopted by the Holy Alliance had not been received with favour in England, and Castlereagh had held aloof from an alliance which arrogated to itself the right of suppressing revolutionary movements in any part of the Continent. Europe was to be ruled by congresses; and the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria were resolved to use "federative action in the cause of legitimacy and absolutism".

Insurrections in favour of liberal reforms had broken out in 1820 in Spain, Portugal, and Naples, and the members of the Holy Alliance had met first at Troppau, and later at Laibach, with the intention of suppressing these disturbances. Castlereagh had, indeed, in December, 1820, declared that England would not join in any united action, but the allies paid no heed to England's action or inaction, and an Austrian army suppressed the Neapolitan rising. In March, 1821, the situation was further complicated by the rising of Greece against Turkey, and by the declared intention of the French government to suppress the revolution in Spain. In September, 1822, a congress met at Verona, ostensibly to discuss the Greek question, in reality to advocate the entry into Spain of French

The Con-
gresses of
Troppau,
Laibach, and
Verona.

troops, in order to deliver Ferdinand VII. from the Liberal Cortes.

Canning was prepared to carry into effect Castlereagh's dislike of congresses. But whereas Castlereagh had evinced a disapproval of insurrections, Canning wished to allow each nation to manage its own affairs, and to destroy once and for all the system of governing Europe by congresses.

Though he could not prevent France from invading Spain, he averted a general European attack on Spain; and while he protected Portugal from an invasion by the French and Spaniards, he virtually recognized the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies in America. At his suggestion Monroe, President of the United States, attacked the principles of the Holy Alliance by declaring that America was no longer to be looked upon as a field for European colonization, and that Europe must not attempt to extend its political system to America, or to control the political conditions of the American communities which had recently declared their independence.

With regard to the Turkish question Canning's energy and resource were no less apparent. Since 1821 the Greeks had been attempting to throw off the Sultan's yoke. Though the Tsar at the congresses of Vienna, Laibach, and Verona advocated the suppression of insurrectionary movements in the West, he somewhat illogically regarded the Greek rising with favour, and put obstacles in the way of the assertion of the rights of the Sultan of Turkey, the legitimate sovereign of Greece. Austria supported Turkey, and Russia was in a difficult position. In 1824 the Greeks appealed to England, and demanded not independence but the rights of self-government. The Tsar Nicholas, who succeeded Alexander in December, 1825, agreed to aid Canning in a policy of peaceful intervention, they were joined by France in 1826, and in April, 1827, the three powers demanded an armistice. Turkey, trusting to Austria, refused this demand, and Canning thereupon

Canning and
the insurrec-
tion in Spain
and Portugal.

The Monroe
doctrine.

Canning and
the Greek
insurrection.

drew up with Russia and France the Treaty of London, to arrange for the compulsory acceptance of the armistice by the Turks. Already many English volunteers, including Lord Byron, had enthusiastically joined the Greeks in their effort to overthrow the Turkish tyranny. The Sultan in his extremity called upon his vassal, Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, who sent troops into the Peloponnesus, and the Turkish and Egyptian ships lay in Navarino Bay awaiting reinforcements from Alexandria.

To prevent this union, to check the atrocities then being perpetrated in the Peloponnesus, and to compel the Egyptian troops to re-embark, the English admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, with the aid of a few Russian and French ships, attacked and destroyed the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleets in the battle of Navarino on October 30, 1827.

But before Navarino had been fought, Canning, who on the death of Lord Liverpool (Feb. 17) had become Prime Minister on April 10, 1827, was dead. He had seen great improvements effected in commerce by the adoption of Mr. Huskisson's views, he had taken part in fresh endeavours to procure the abolition of slavery, he had realized the necessity of adopting measures for the lowering of the price of corn.

Though opposed to the introduction of any scheme of parliamentary reform and to the relaxation of the Test and Corporation Acts, he was an advocate of Catholic Emancipation, the settlement of which question had become an absolute necessity. In Ireland a Catholic association had been formed in 1823, and in March, 1826, Sir Francis Burdett brought forward a Catholic Relief Bill, which passed the Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords. During his short ministry, from April to August, 1827, Canning was supported by the moderate Tories and many Whigs. His liberal tendencies on such questions as Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Corn Laws were well known, and men like Wellington, Eldon, and

The Treaty of London.

The battle of Navarino, Oct. 30, 1827.

Canning becomes Prime Minister on the death of Lord Liverpool.

Melville refused to join him. On August 8 he died, having restored England's position on the Continent, having inaugurated a system of non-inter-vention, and having broken up the Holy Alliance.

Death of
Canning,
August, 1827.

He was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Goderich, who only held office till January 8, 1828, being unable to control a ministry composed of Canningites like Huskisson and Tories like Herries, who on Canning's death had become Chancellor of the Exchequer. The change in the guidance of the ministry was a great misfortune. The victory of Navarino in October was not followed up, the advice of Sir Stratford Canning, our able envoy at Constantinople, was not taken, all chance of ending the war was lost, and an opportunity was given to Russia of invading Turkey. Canning's policy properly carried out would have restored peace in the East, gained for Greece reasonable concessions, and saved Turkey from a Russian war.

Goderich's
ministry.

On Goderich's resignation Wellington became Prime Minister. Conscientious and upright, Wellington was ill fitted for his post. He made no attempt to carry out Canning's policy in the East, but contented himself with declaring that the preservation of the Ottoman Empire was necessary, while Russia was overrunning Turkey and dictating terms to the Sultan.

Wellington's
government.
1828.

In home affairs he acted as though he were engaged in military operations. He fought till he saw his position was hopeless, and then he retreated without any intention of retiring from office. He was always ready to make reactionary declarations, and as ready to retire from them when he found that they were unpopular. Thus in May, 1828, when the House of Commons showed itself in favour of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Wellington and his government accepted the decision, and the Acts were repealed. Similarly he allowed a Corn Law which he had previously opposed to be passed.

The repeal of
the Test and
Corporation
Acts. 1828.

His treatment of the question of Catholic Emancipation was another and more serious instance of his political methods, and brought with it momentous consequences for the Tory party.

Catholic
Emancipation
granted. 1829.

In May, 1828, Huskisson, Palmerston, and other Canningites or moderate Tories had resigned, their places being filled by Tories of a more extreme type. With a homogeneous Cabinet Wellington faced the question of Catholic Emancipation. In Ireland the agitation had been renewed on Wellington's accession to office. At the Clare election in June, 1828, the government candidate was compelled to withdraw, and a Catholic, Daniel O'Connell, was returned in defiance of the existing law against the election of members of his faith.

The Catholic Association had won a great victory. Wellington recognized the urgency of the Catholic question, and realized that unless emancipation was granted, Ireland would have to be reconquered. The king's consent to the introduction of the measure was with difficulty secured, and the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed in April, 1829.

The bill alienated the old High Tories and did not satisfy O'Connell, who now took up his position as the recognized head of the Irish nation. Henceforward the government was weakened by the loss of many of its supporters and hampered by the continual agitation in Ireland for the repeal of the Union. The foreign policy of Wellington met also with little approbation from any party. His non-intervention in the affairs of Greece has already been noticed, and while France and Russia opposed Turkey in the Morea and the Balkan Peninsula respectively, England held aloof. In the West

The govern-
ment is weak-
ened.

Wellington's
foreign
policy.

his policy was equally distasteful to those who preferred the system of Canning to that of Castlereagh. In Portugal Miguel, uncle of the young Queen Maria, had usurped the crown, and Wellington's strict interpretation of the principle of neutrality had enabled Miguel to firmly establish himself on the throne,

Affairs in Por-
tugal.

and, with the support of the uneducated masses, to carry out a retrogressive policy. In France the reactionary tendencies of Charles X., with which Wellington was supposed to sympathize, and the high-handed conduct of the French ministry led to the outbreak of the Revolution of July, 1830. Charles X. abdicated and retired to England, and Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who had always professed Liberal principles, became king of the French.

The July Revolution in France. 1830.

Before the revolution was, however, accomplished George IV. had died on June 26. He left his people dissatisfied with Wellington's administration, that minister himself in an isolated position, and England and Ireland in a condition of deep discontent. The accession of George's next surviving brother, the popular sailor-king, William IV., gave improved hopes of constitutional reforms. The orderly course of the French Revolution of July

Death of George IV. June, 1830.

showed the possibility of carrying out reforms without those excesses which had usually accompanied revolutions. The question of parliamentary reform, which during Canning's period of office had remained dormant, was at once brought forward by the Whigs, with the full support of the middle classes. The elections to the first Parliament in William IV.'s reign

Effects of the accession of William IV. and of the French Revolution upon England.

showed Wellington that he was bitterly opposed by the extreme Tories, not less than by the Whigs and by the Canningites. Having declared "his belief in the perfection of our legislative system", Wellington resigned in November, 1830, and Lord Grey was intrusted with the formation of a Whig Cabinet. After twenty-four years of exile from power, the Whigs were anxious to act promptly and vigorously, and in March 1, 1831, the Reform Bill was introduced. On March 21 the Bill was passed by a majority of one, and in April Parliament was dissolved. After the elections the ministers were in a majority of 136, and the Reform Bill on being again introduced

The question of Reform of Parliament.

Lord Grey becomes Prime Minister. 1830.

passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. Riots thereupon took place all over the country, the Whig political clubs advocated vigorous measures, and a large creation of Peers was openly discussed. In March, 1832, the Bill passed the Commons for a third time, and on April 14 the second reading passed the Lords. But on May 7 the Peers threw out certain vital portions of the Bill and the ministry resigned.

The struggle for the Reform Bill.

Public opinion now expressed itself so unmistakably that the king, finding that even Wellington would not undertake to form a Tory government, was obliged to recall his ministers, and the Bill was finally accepted by the House of Lords on June 4. Wellington and some scores of Tory Peers walked out of the House before the final vote, so as to leave the Whigs in a majority, and allow the Bill to pass.

The Bill is finally passed. 1832.

By this bill 56 rotten boroughs with less than 2000 inhabitants were disfranchised, 30 boroughs with less than 4000 inhabitants were each deprived of 1 member. Thus 143 seats were left for distribution. Of these 65 were given to the counties and 78 to boroughs. The 5 London boroughs and 22 large towns received 2 members each, and 21 lesser towns 1 member each.

Character of the Bill.

Other changes were made dealing with obvious evils. The duration of the poll was shortened, the right to vote was given to all resident occupiers of premises of £10 yearly value, and in the counties to owners of property and holders of leases for 60 years to the value of £10 a year, while tenants for shorter periods, paying a rent of £50, were also enfranchised. The Irish franchise was assimilated to that in England; and the famous 40s. householders were thus deprived of their vote.

Thus was completed the second act of the revolution begun in 1688. In that year Parliament had become supreme. About the middle of the eighteenth century the people began to feel that the House of Commons did

not represent them, and efforts were made to remedy the glaring defects in our parliamentary system. The French Revolution of 1789 had checked all attempts at reform, and it was not till 1832 that Parliament lost its aristocratic character and introduced the middle classes to power. By the aid of the middle classes the Whigs had carried the Reform Bill, but the agricultural labourers and the poor in the towns still remained without the franchise. That Bill was followed by a new Poor Law, by the Abolition of Slavery, and by the Municipal Corporations Act, giving the towns popular and elective constitutions.

The middle classes are now represented in Parliament.

The passing of other beneficial measures.

Within the last thirty years household suffrage in town and country has completed the third Act of the English Revolution, and County and Parish Councils have restored under different conditions to the residents in counties and villages the rights which they enjoyed in the years preceding the Norman Conquest.

Development in English history.

During the early years of the nineteenth century the development of the British Empire, though not signalized by any such achievement as the conquest of Canada, proceeded steadily.

The Expansion of the British Empire.

The conquest of the Mahrattas by Lord Hastings (1818-19) was but another step towards that complete sovereignty over the whole of India, which, since the suppression of the Mutiny of 1857, has become an accomplished fact.

The colonization of Australia, facilitated by the efforts of Captain Cook and of the surveyor Matthew Flinders, was fairly begun, though for many years its development was hindered by the fact that the government had made New South Wales and Tasmania into convict settlements, an unhappy plan which checked free immigration. The discoveries of James Bruce (1765-72) and Mungo Park (1795-1806) laid the foundation of English ascendancy in Central and Western Africa.

In all parts of the world English influence was making

itself felt, and the way was being prepared for that expansion of the British Empire in India, in North America, in the Australasian colonies and in Africa, which has characterized the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

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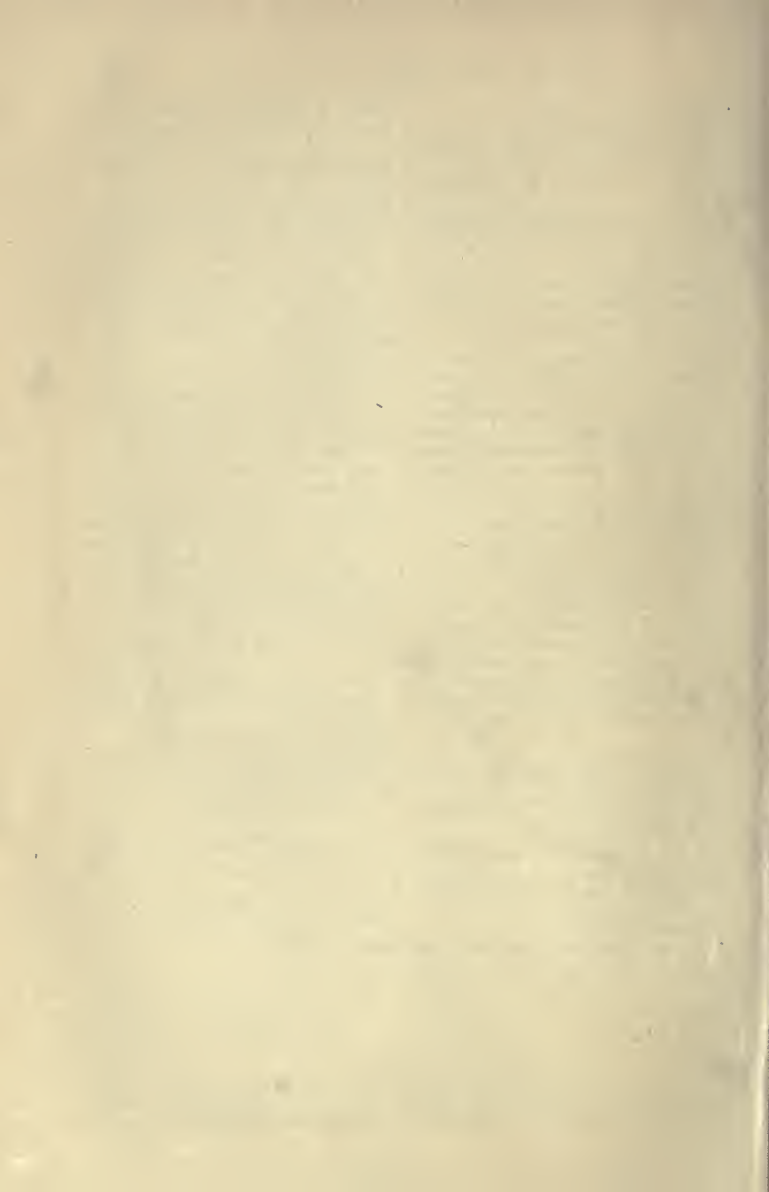
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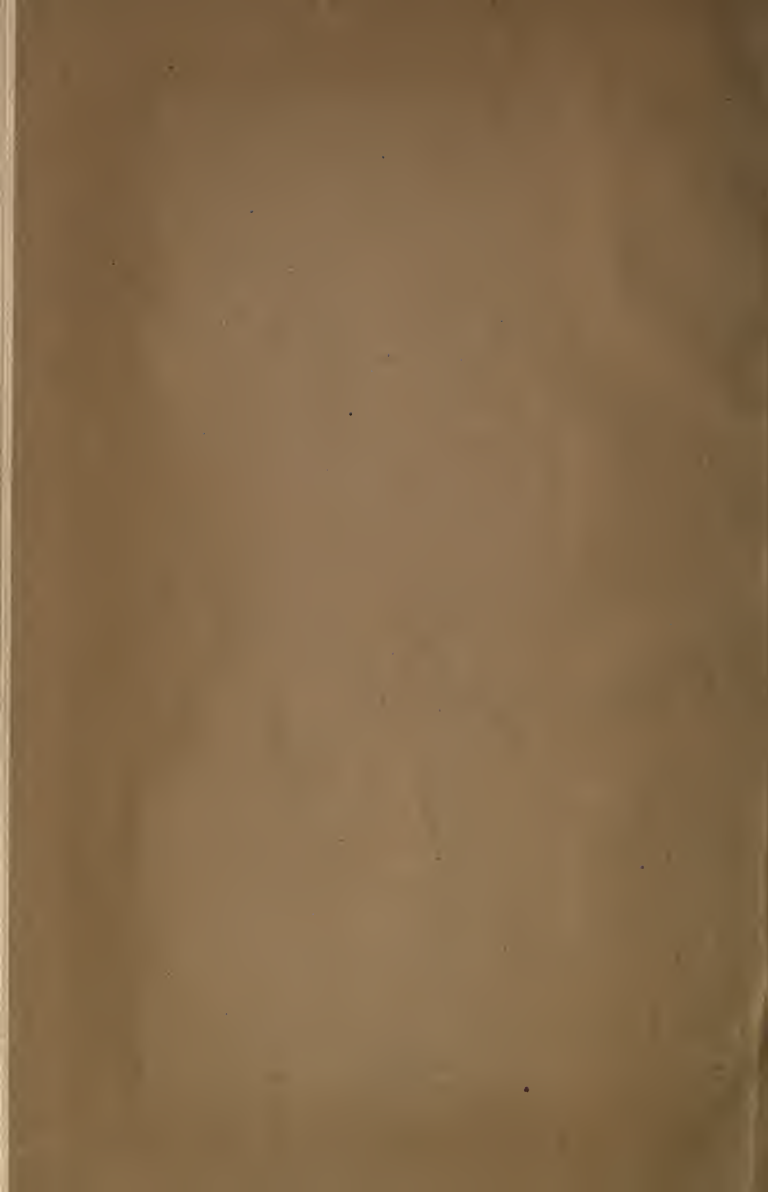
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